

BRINLEY.

950

Due by exchange

A BRIEF HISTORY Of the War with the Pequot Indians in New-England; Anno 1637.

IN the beginning of May, 1637. there were sent out by Connecticut Colony ninety men, under the command of Capt. *John Mason* (afterwards Major *Mason*, and Deputy Governour of Connecticut Colony) against the *Pequots*, with whom went *Uncas* an Indian Sachem of *Mohag*, who was newly revolted from the *Pequots*.

This small Army was shipped in one Pink, one Pinnace & one Shallop, some of which vessels in their passage down Connecticut River, fell on ground, by reason of the lowness of the water, and the unskillfulness of the English in the channel. The Indians not being wonted to such things with their small Canoes, and also being impatient of all delays, desired they might be set on shore, promising they would meet our Army at *Seybrook*; which request of theirs was granted: and they being set at liberty hastning to their Quarters at *Seybrook*, met with about thirty or forty of the *Pequots* near *Seybrook*, and engaged them, and slew seven of them upon the place, and had only one of their own wounded, who was conveyed back to Connecticut in a Skiffe.

Capt. *Underhill* hearing of the approach of the Army, went & met them and informed them what was performed by *Uncas* and his men, which news was welcome to them, and looked upon as a special providence; for before they were somewhat doubtfull of the fidelity of their Indian Volunteers.

Capt. *Underhill* hearing of the design our Army was upon, very freely offered his Service with nineteen men to go along with them, if Lieut. *Gardner* would allow of it (who was chief Commander at *Seybrook Fort*) which motion was no sooner propounded to Lieut. *Gardner*, but he readily approved of it, and our Councill of War accepted of it also; who in lieu of those twenty, immediately sent back

twenty of theirs to Connecticut to help guard the women and children &c.

Upon a wednesday our Army arrived at Seybrook, where they lay wind-bound till Friday, in which time the Councill of War consulted how and in what manner they should proceed in their Enterprize, which was accompanied with much difficulty; their Commission ordering them to land their men in the *Pequit* River, against which were these difficultyes.

First. The *Peguods* kept a continual Guard upon the River, night and day in a constant course.

Secondly. Their numbers far exceeded ours; they had also sixteen gunns with powder and shot, besides their Indian Artillery, as our Councill of War was informed by the two captive maids (mentioned where we declared the Grounds of this War) who were redeemed by the Dutch, and restored now to us at Seybrook, which was a very friendly office, and not to be forgotten.

Thirdly. They were on Land, and being swift of foot, might much impede the landing of our men, and dishearten them, they continually guarding that River, and our men not knowing where to land nearer then *Narraganset*.

Fourthly. It was alledged that if our Army landed at *Narraganset*, they would come upon their Backs, and possibly might surprize them unawares; at worst they should be on firm Land as well as the enemy.

Notwithstanding these reasons, the Councill of Warr, all of them except the Captain, were at a stand, and could not judg it meet to sail to *Narraganset*. Capt. *Mason* in this difficult case, went to the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Stone*, late Teacher to the Church of Christ at *Hartford*, who was sent as Preacher to the Army, and desired him that he would that night commend their case and difficultyes before the Lord, and seek direction of him in the matter, how and in what manner they should demean themselves. He retired himself from them aboard the *Pink* the remaining part of that day, and the following night was not wanting in spreading the case before the Lord, and seeking his direction; in the morning he came on shore to the Captains chamber, and told him he had done as he desired him, (and though formerly he had been against sailing to *Narraganset* and landing there, yet now he was fully satisfied to attend it.

The Council being again called, and the matter debated, & reasons considered, they agreed all with one accord to sail to *Narragan-*

set, which the next morning they put in execution, which proved very
 successfull, as the sequel may evidently demonstrate. What shall I
 say? God led his people through manifold Difficultyes and Turnings,
 yet by more then an ordinary hand of Providence, *He led them in a
 right way.*

On Friday morning, they in pursuance of their design set sail for
Narraganset Bay, and on Saturday toward evening they arrived at
 their desired Port, where they kept the Sabbath.

On Munday the wind blew so hard at Norwest that they could not
 go on shoar, as also on Tuesday till it was near Sunset, but the wind
 abating, they and their design being commended to God by Mr. Stone,
 Capt. Mason and his Company landed, and marched up to the place
 of the chief Sachims residence, and told him, that they had not an op-
 portunity before, to acquaint him with their coming armed into his
 countrey, yet they hoped it would be wel accepted by him, there being
 amity between us and them, and also that the *Pequots* and they were
 enemies, and that he could not be unacquainted with those intolerable
 wrongs and injuries, those *Pequots* had lately done unto the English,
 and that they were now come (God assisting) to avenge ourselves upon
 them, and that they did only desire free passage through his countrey.

The Sachim returned this Answer, that he did accept of their com-
 ing, and did also approve of their designe, only he thought our
 numbers were too weak to deal with the enemy, who were (as he said)
 very great Captains, and men skilful in war, thus he spake somewhat
 slightly of our men.

On Wednesday morning they marched from thence, to a place
 called *Niantick*, it being about eighteen, or twenty miles, distant,
 where another of those *Narraganset* Sachims lived in a Fort, it being
 a frontier to the *Pequots*. They carried it very proudly to our men,
 not permitting any of them to come into their fort.

Capt. Mason beholding their carriage, and knowing the falshood
 of the Indians, fearing lest they might discover them to the enemy, es-
 pecially the Indians having many times some of their neer relations a-
 mongst their greatest Foes, saw cause to set a guard about their fort
 that no Indian might pass in or out, and charged the Indians not to
 pass out upon the peril of their lives. And there they Quartered that
 night, the Indians not offering to stir out all the while.

In the morning came to the Army several of *Miantinomie* his men,
 who told them they were come to assist them in the expedition, which
 encouraged diverse Indians of that place to engage also, who drawing
 into

into a ring, one by one, made solemn protestation how gallantly they would demean themselves, and how many men they would kill.

On Thursday, about eight of the Clock in the morning, they marched thence towards *Pequot*, having about *five hundred Indians* with them. In which march, through the heat of the weather, and want of provision, some of our men fainted; but when they had marched about twelve miles, they came to *Pawquatuck* River to a Foord, where the Indians said the *Pequots* did usually fish. There they made a stand and stayed some small time; but the *Narraganset* Indians manifested great fear, and many of them returned, although they had despised our men, and said they durst not look upon a *Pequot*, and vaunted what great things they themselves would do.

Capt. *John Mason* saw reason then to acquaint the Indians that they were come on purpose, and were resolved (God assisting) to see the *Pequots*, and to fight with them before they returned, although they perished; and then he enquired of *Uncas* what he thought the Indians would do; who said the *Narragansets* would all leave them, but as for himself, he would never leave them, and so it proved.

After they had there refreshed themselves with their mean Commons, they marched about three miles, and came to a field which had been planted with Indian corn; where they made another Alarm, and supposing that they drew neer to the enemy, who, as they were informed, had two forts almost impregnable, which did no ways discourage the souldiers, but rather animated them, insomuch that they resolved to assault both the forts at once; but the Council of War having consulted the matter; understood that one of the forts, in which the bloodiest Sachim resided, was so remote that they could not possibly come up with it in season, and seeing some of the souldiers spent in the march with extream heat, and want of necessaries, concluded and resolved to assault, and storm the nearest fort.

Then they marched on in a silent manner; The Indians that remained, who in the march hitherto kept the Van, (being surpris'd with great fear) fell all into the Reer. They continued their March till about an hour in the night, & then coming to a little Swamp between two hills, there they pitched their little Camp, being much wearied with hard travell; supposing (by the Relations of the *Indians*) they were near the Fort, which proved otherwise. The rocks were their pillows, yet rest was sweet and pleasant to them. The night proved comfortable being clear and Moonlight. They appointed their Guards, and placed their Sentinels at some distance, who heard their

Enc-

enemies, singing in their Fort until midnight, with great insulting and rejoicing (as they were afterwards informed by *Wequash* a *Pequot* Captain, who was revolted from the *Pequots*, and was one of their Guides in this march) For they seeing our pinnaces sail by them a few days before concluded they were afraid of them, and durst not to come near them.

Towards morning Captain *Mason* being awakened, and seeing it very light, supposed it had been day, and so they might have lost their opportunity, having determined to make their assault before day and therefore immediately roused up his Souldiers, and briefly commended themselves and Designe to the guidance and Protection of the Lord, and went to the assault.

Their Indian Guide shewing them a path said it led directly to the Fort; they took the path, and marched on the best part of two miles, wondering that they saw not the Fort; and fearing that their Indian Guide might delude them; but coming to a place where corn was newly planted at the foot of a great hill, supposed the Fort was not far off, a champion Country being round about them. There the Captain caused his Company to make a stand, and gave order that the Indians should come unto him; at length *Uncas* & *Wequash* came up, of whom he demanded where the Fort was; they answered, on the top of that Hill: He also enquired where the rest of the Indians were; they answered behind exceedingly afraid; he then desired them to tel the rest of their fellowes that they should by no means fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether English men would now fight or not. Then Capt. *Underhill* came up into the Front, & after Capt. *Mason* had commended their case to God (their being two entrances into the Fort, they divided their men; & Capt. *Mason* lead up to that entrance on the North-east side, who approaching within a rod of the entrance a dog bark'd, and an Indian cryed *Wannux wa-nux*. He commanded his Souldiers to close up to the Fort; and fire upon them through the palizadoes, which they did, the Indians being in a dead and indeed in their last sleep. The Souldiers having fired wheeled off and came to the main entrance, which was blocked up with bushes about breast high, over which Capt. *Mason* very courageously leaped, and stood to make good the entrance, and commanded his Souldiers to follow him, one of which endeavouring, was entangled in the bushes, but getting back, pulled out the bushes and so the Souldiers followed their Captain into the Fort with their Swords drawn; for they had concluded to destroy them with the
Sword

‘ sword, and so to save the plunder.

‘ The Indians as yet kept their *wigwams*; Capt. *Mason* entred a
 ‘ *Wigwam*, and his Guard not seeing him, passed away from him,
 ‘ where he was strongly assaulted by many Indians, but he bravely de-
 ‘ fended himself, and slew several of his opposers; at last *William*
 ‘ *Heyden* perceiving the place where the Captain went in, essayed to go
 ‘ in himself, but in his entrance stumbled upon a dead man, but soon
 ‘ recovering himself, he fell upon the Indians. The Indians some were
 ‘ slain, some fled, others crept under their beds, where they slept their
 ‘ last; the Captain going out of the *Wigwams* met with many of them
 ‘ and put them to the sword; In which time of fight several English were
 ‘ wounded. Capt. *Mason* perceiving his men wounded, and the ene-
 ‘ my not yet routed, saw cause himself to go into a wigwam, and fetch
 ‘ out a firebrand, and putting it in one of the mats with which the wig-
 ‘ wams were covered, commanded one of his souldiers to throw some
 ‘ powder upon it, which set the mat on fire, which the wind taking; it
 ‘ was quickly thoroughly kindled, which made the Indians run as men
 ‘ most dreadfully amazed.

‘ And Indeed such a dreadful terror did the Almighty let fall upon
 ‘ their spirits, that they would fly from the sword, and cast themselves
 ‘ into the very flames, where many of them perished.

‘ The fort being fired, the Captain commanded that all should
 ‘ march out of the fort, and surround it; which was readily attended
 ‘ by all, only one *Arthur Smith* was so wounded that he could not
 ‘ move out of the place, who was happily espyed by *Leut. Tho. Bull*,
 ‘ and by him rescued from the flames, which otherwise had consumed
 ‘ him.

‘ The fire was kindled on the *Northeast* side to windward, which did
 ‘ swiftly over run the whole Fort, to the extream amazement of the ene-
 ‘ my, and great rejoycing of our souldiers; some of the enemy climbed
 ‘ to the tops of the pallizadoes, where they were shot down, others ga-
 ‘ thered to the windward side of the Fort, and lay pelting at our men
 ‘ with their arrows, who repaid them with their small shot, others of
 ‘ the stoutest issued forth of the Fort, about fourty of them who fell by
 ‘ the sword.

‘ Capt. *Underhill* and those with him acted their parts in this trage-
 ‘ dy, especially one Mr. *Hedge*, who was the first that entred that gate
 ‘ to which Capt. *Underhill* led up; the fire was no sooner kindled but
 ‘ the smoke and flames were so violent, that they were constrained to
 ‘ desert the Fort and keep them in.

Thus

Thus were they now at their wits end, who not many houres before exalted themselves in their great pride, threatning and resolving the utter ruin and destruction of all the English, exulting and rejoicing with songs and dances; but God was above them, who laughed his enemies and the enemies of his people to scorn, making them as a fiery oven; thus were the stout hearted spoiled, having slept their last sleep, and none of their men could find their hands; thus did the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies.

And here we may take notice of Gods judgement upon this bloody Generation, in sending the very night before the assault an hundred and fifty men from their other fort to join with this fort, who were designing (as some of themselves have related) to go forth against the English at that very instant when this stroke came upon them, where the most of them perished with their fellows, so that the mischief they intended against us came upon themselves; they were taken in their own snare and we through the mercy of God escaped. And thus in little more then one houres space was their Impregnable fort, with themselves utterly destroyed, to the number of five or six hundred, as hath been confessed by the *Pequots* who escaped. There were seven taken captive, and about eight escaped; and of the English there were two slain outright, and above twenty wounded. Some of our souldiers fainted for want of such comforts and necessaryes as were needful in such a case. The Chyrurgion was much wanted, who was left with the Barks in Narraganset Bay, with order there to remain until the night before they intended the assault.

And thereupon grew many difficultyes amongst the Army, their provision and ammunition being neer spent, and they in the enemies country, who did far exceed them in numbers, being much enraged, and most of our Indian friends having left them, and our pinnaces at a great distance from them, and their coming uncertain.

But as they were consulting what course to take, it pleased God to discover our vessels to them under a fair Gale of wind sailing into the *Pequot* Harbour, to their great rejoicing.

They had no sooner discovered our vessels, but immediately came up the enemy from the other fort about three hundred of them. Capt. *Masan* led forth a file or two of men to skirmish with them, which stopt their Carrier, and put them to a stand, and then they prepared to march towards our vessels, but four or five of our men were so wounded that they were faine to be carried, with the Armes of about twenty more which took up so many of the souldiers, that there was not above forty

men free, but at length they hired several Indians to carry the wounded men, who eased them of that burthen, and carried their wounded men for them.

And when the souldiers had marched about a quarter of a mile, the enemy came to the place where the fort had stood, and when they beheld the ruines thereof, and the carcases of their friends lyed some upon the earth, others scorched, and some almost consumed, with the fire, they stamped and tore the hair from their heads, and ran mouting down the hill in their full Carreer, and the loss they met withal made them wary not to come near.

The souldiers then meeting with a small brook at the foot of the hill being very dry, sat down and refreshed themselves, the enemy being grown by this time so wary they durst not come too neer, to disturb them.

Then they marched on towards *Pequot* Harbour, and meeting with several wigwams in the way they burnt them; the enemy followed them, and some lay in ambush behind rocks and trees, often shooting at them, yet God so covered them, that not one of them was hurt, and when they came to any swamp or thicket, they made some shot, and cleared a passage, and some of the enemy fell, which our Indians seeing, would give a great shout, and then venture to fetch their heads, and thus they continued, till they came within two miles of *Pequot* Harbour, where the enemy gathered themselves together, and left our army; they marched on to the top of an hill adjoining to the harbour, with their colours flying, (as for their Drum, it was lost, or at least left by their Drummer at the place where they kept their rendezvouze the night before) where they saw our vessels riding at Anchor to their great rejoicing, and when they had marched to the water side, there they sat down in quiet.

Capt. *Patrick* being there arrived (with our vessels) with forty men sent by the *Massachusetts* Colony upon some service against the block-Islanders or *Pequots*, came to the shore in a shallop, with some of his men, as he said, to rescue our Army, supposing they had been pursued, although there did appear no sign of any such thing.

But Capt. *Patrick* could not be prevailed with by any means to venture himself on shore while our wounded men were carried on board, which was troublesome, not only to our souldiers, but to his own men also, who manifested their dislike of his carriage; at length our men were fetched aboard our vessels, to the great rejoicing of their friends, where they did with one heart blesse the Lord, for his mercy & goodness unto them.

I might

I might here relate a contest that fell out between Capt. Underhill and Capt. Patrick, about Capt. Underhill's claiming an Interest in the Bark in which Capt. Patrick sailed, which by the mediation of Capt. Mason was issued, and that being the place of Rendezvouze, where vessels were expected from the *Massachusetts*, it was agreed that Capt. Patrick should there ride in that Bark, and secure the *Narraganset* Indians untill our vessel could carry our wounded men to *Seybrook*, and our Pink return to carry home the *Narraganset* Indians.

After this agreement, Capt. Underhill set sail for *Seybrook* in our Bark, but before he was out of sight, Capt. Patrick signified by writing to Capt. Mason that he could not attend that Service he had engaged for he must with his company wait at *Seybrook*, for some vessels he expected from the Bay; advising Capt. Mason seeing he had obtained the honour of that Service, he would compleat it in securing the *Narraganset* Indians, &c. Which indeed was a hard task and difficult; for the Pink could not entertain them, and to march by land was dangerous, it being near twenty miles, and in the enemies country, and their numbers being small; for they had sent home about twenty men to help strengthen the Plantations on *Connecticut*, for fear of the *Pequots* invading of them, but at last, seeing they were necessitated to march to *Seybrook* by land, they went ashore with the Indians, and began their march; Capt. Patrick seeing what they were about, came ashore also with his men; and although Capt. Mason told him he did not delight in his company, yet he would and did march along with them.

In their march, about the mid-way between that and *Seybrook*, they fell upon a people called *Nianticks*, belonging to the *Pequots*, who fled to a swamp for refuge; but when they heard or saw this small troop they fled, who pursued them awhile by their track as long as they kept together; but the day being much spent, Sabbath drawing on, & themselves much spent with their former travel, and service, they left their pursuit, and marched on towards *Seybrook*, and about sun-set they arrived by *Connecticut* River side; where they were welcomed by Lieut. Gardner, with many great Gunns, but were forced there to take up their Quarters that night. On the morrow morning they were all fetched over, where they kept the Sabbath, and were nobly entertained by Lieut. Gardner, from whom they received many Courtesies.

And when they had taken order for the safe conduct of the *Narraganset* Indians to their Country, Capt. Mason with his men returned to *Connecticut* the place of their abode, where they were entertained with great

great triumph, and rejoicing and praising of God, for his goodness to us in succeeding our endeavours, in crowning them with success, and in restoring our small Army with so little loss.

Thus was God seen in the mount, crushing his proud enemies, and the enemies of his people, so that they who were ere while a terror to all that were round about them, who resolved to destroy all the English, and to root their very name out of this Country, were by weak means thus vanquished and destroyed, and the mischief they plotted, and the violence they offered, was brought upon their own heads in a moment; for the Lord burnt them up in the fire of his wrath, & dunged the ground with their flesh, it was the Lords doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes. It is He that hath made His work wonderfull, and therefore ought to be remembered.

Suddenly after this, the whole Body of the remaining *Pequots* repaired to that Fort where *Sassacus* the chief Sachim did reside, and charged him that he was the only cause of all their troubles that befell them, and therefore they would destroy both him and his; yet by the entreaty of his Counsellors, they spared his life; and consulting what course to take, concluded there was no abiding any longer in their Country, and so resolved to fly into several parts. The greatest body of them went towards *Manadum*, and in their passage over *Connecticut* River, they met with three English men in a shallop going for *Seybrook*, and fought them, who resisted them stoutly, and killed & wounded many of them, but their shallop falling on ground, they were all three slain.

About a fortnight after our souldiers were returned home from *Mistick* Fight, we heard of the arrival of several vessels from the *Massachusetts Colony* in *Pequot* River; Capt. *Israel Stoughton* being Commander in chief, and with him about 120 men, who were sent by that Colony to prosecute the War against the *Pequots*; and although the main Body of the *Pequots* were fled, yet some straglers remained in that Country, some of whom were discovered by the *Moheags*, and by them discovered to the *Massachusetts* Forces, by whom they were both surprised and taken, and several of which, to the number of about twenty three, were put to death; the rest were sent to the Bay.

The Colony of *Connecticut* hereupon sent forth Capt. *Mason* again with forty men, as also several Gentlemen, (as the Honour'd *John Haines* & *Roger Ludlow* Esqrs.) to meet with those of the *Massachusetts* to consult and determine what was further necessary to be attended, who meeting with those of the *Massachusetts* in the *Pequot* harbour, after

after consultation, concluded to pursue the *Pequots* (who as you heard before were fled towards the *Menados*) and so began their march after them, and discovered several places where they had rendezvowed and lodged not far distant one from the other, for they could make but little halt, by reason of their ancient people and children, and their want of provision, being forced to gather clams, and such other things as the wilderness afforded for their relief. The vessels sailed along by the shore. In the march, some were gleaned, but within the space of three days, or thereabouts, they arrived at a place then called *Quinipiag* (now *New-haven*) and there espying a great smoke in the woods, not far distant, supposing the *Pequots* might be there, they went to discover them; but they quickly discovered them to be Connecticut Indians. From thence they sent a *Pequot* captive (whom they named *Lux*) upon discovery, who brought them tidings of the enemy which proved real. The *Pequots* were so terrified in their flight, that a *Moheag* Indian (named *Jack Eaton*) meeting in this pursuit with three *Pequots*, took two of them and brought them to the English.

But to return, they having tidings where the *Pequots* were, hastened toward the place where they heard they were, and at last coming into a corn field, several of the English espyed some Indians, who fled from them. They pursued them, and coming to the top of an hill, saw several wigwams just opposite, only a swamp intervening, which was almost divided in two parts. One Serjeant *Palmor* hastning with about twelve men (who were then under his command) to surround the smaller part of the swamp, that so he might prevent the Indians flying. But Lievt. *Davenport*, Serjeant *Tefferyes* &c. going up to the wigwams were there assaulted by the Indians. In this Skirmish the English slew but few, two or three of themselves were wounded, the rest of their Army coming up, the swamp was surrounded.

Their Council being called, the question was propounded how they should proceed? Capt. *Patrick* advised that they should cut down the swamp; (they having taken many Indian hatchets) Others propounded to hedge in the swamp, which others judged would be to no purpose, and therefore strongly opposed it; Some other advised to force the swamp, having time enough (it being about three a clock in the afternoon) but that being opposed, it was then propounded that the men should be drawn up close to the swamp, which would have lessened the circumference, and then to fill up the open passages with bushes, that so they might secure them till the morning, and then consider farther about it. But neither of those would pass, so different were

were their apprehensions, which was very grievous to some, who concluded the Indians would make an escape in the night, as easily they might, & did, the swamp being large and their numbers so small that they were forced to stand at a great distance one from another, which made their escape more easie.

Capt. *Mason* took order that the narrow passage in the swamp should be cut through, which would much shorten the leaguer, which was accordingly attended and resolutely performed by Serjeant *Davis* and some others with him.

Mr. *Thomas Stanton* a man well acquainted with the Indians language and manners, perceiving the Counsell of War loth to destroy Women and children, (as also the Indians of that place) freely offered his service to go into the swamp and treat with them, which the Council were somewhat backward to, by reason of some hazard he might be exposed to, but his importunity prevailed, who going to them did in a short time come to the Council with near 200. old men, women and Children, who delivered themselves to the mercy of the English, most of which brought their small present with them, and laid it down before the Council. Now night drawing on, they did beleaguer the swamp as strongly as they could.

But above halfe an hour before day the Indians that were in the swamp, attempted to break through Capt. *Patrick's* Quarters, But were beaten back severall times, they made a great noise, as their manner is at such times, which sounded round about the leaguer. Capt. *Mason* sent Serjeant *Stares* to assist those against whom the Pequots pressed to come out by, at which time also Capt. *Trask* came in to their assistance, but the tumult encreasing, the siege was raised, and they marching up to a place at a turning of the swamp, the Indians were forcing out upon them, but they fired upon them, and sent them back by their small shot; Then they waited a little for their second attempt, but the Indians facing about, and pressing violently upon Capt. *Patrick's* Quarters, brake through, and so escaped about seventy of them, as the Indians informed; the swamp was searched, there were but few found slain. The Captives that were taken were about an hundred and eighty, which were divided between the two Colonies, and they intended to keep them as servants, but they could not endure that yoke, for few of them continued any considerable time with their masters.

Thus did the Lord scatter his enemyes with his strong arm.

The Pequots now became a prey to all Indians; happy were they that

that could bring in their heads to the English, of which there came almost daily to *Windsor*, or *Hartford*; But the *Pequots* growing weary hereof, sent some of the chief that survived to mediate with the English, offering that if they might but enjoy their lives, they would become the English vassals, to dispose of them as they pleased.

Whereupon *Uncas* and *Miantonimo* were sent for, who with the *Pequots* met at *Hartford*; The *Pequots* being demanded, how many of them were then living, They answered, about an hundred and eighty or two hundred; Then were there granted to *Uncas* Sachim of *Moheag* eighty, and to *Miantonimo* Sachim of *Narraganset* eighty, and to *Ninnicraft* twenty men, when he should satisfy for a mare of *Elmwood Pomeroyes*, killed by some of his men; The *Pequots* likewise were by covenant bound, that they should no more inhabit their native country, nor should any of them be called *Pequots* but *Moheags* and *Narragansets* for ever; Shortly after about forty of them went to *Moheag*, others went to *Long-Island*, others settled at *Pawcatuck*, a place in the *Pequot* country, contrary to their covenant and agreement with the English so lately made, which *Connecticut* taking into consideration, and well weighing the inconveniences that might ensue, for the prevention whereof, they sent forth forty men under the command of *Capt. Mason*, to supplant them by burning their wigwams, and bringing away their corn, except they would desert the place: *Uncas* with about one hundred of his men in twenty cannoes also went to assist them in the service; as they sailed into *Pawcatuck Bay*, they met with three of those Indians whom they sent to inform the rest with the end of their coming, and also to tell them that they desired to speak with them or some of them, they promised to do the message, and speedily to return; but they forgot to keep their word, for they came not.

Then they went up into the River in their vessel, but by reason of flats were forced to land on the Westside of the River, their wigwams being on the East-side, just opposite, where they saw the Indians running up and down, jeering at them.

Then they landed, and went up into a narrow place in the River between two rocks, where they drew up the Indian Cannoes, and got suddenly over the River, sooner then they were expected, and marched up to the wigwams, where the Indians were all fled, except some old people that could not

They were so suddenly upon them, that they had not time to convey away their goods; There was plenty of corn, it being the time of harvest.

'vest; and when they had viewed it, they were passing to the water side
 'to the pinnacle, halfe of *Uncas* his men being with them, the rest were
 'plundering the Wigwams; and as they were marching they looked
 'behind them, and saw about sixty Indians running towards them, un-
 'til they came within forty paces of the Indians, then they run and
 'met them, and fell on pell mell, striking and cutting with bowes and
 'hatchets and knives &c. after their feeble manner, Indeed it did not
 'deserve the name of fighting, They then endeavoured to get be-
 'tween the Indians and the woods, that so they might prevent their
 'flying, which the Indians perceived, and endeavoured speedily to get
 'away under the beach, but our men made no shot at them, but they
 'laid hold on about seven of them, who were *Ninnicrafts* men, who
 'grew very outrageous; the Captain told them if they were not quiet
 'they should be made shorter by the head; and when they were going
 'to put it into execution, *Otash* Sachim of *Narraganset*; and brother to
 ' *Miantonimo*, stepped forth to Capt. *Mason*, and told him, those
 'men whom he was going to execute, were his brothers men, who
 'was a friend to the English, and if their lives might be spared, he
 'would engage to deliver so many murderers heads in lieu of them to
 'the English; The Captain granted his desire, and the men were deli-
 'vered to *Uncas* to be secured till *Otash* his engagement was per-
 'formed.

'Then they drew up their Bark into a Creek the better to defend
 'her, there being some hundreds of Indians within five miles, waiting
 'their motions.

'But there they quartered that night. In the morning as soon as it
 'was light, there appeared in armes at least three hundred Indians on
 'the other side the Creek, upon which the Captain commanded his
 'men to stand to their Armes, which the Indians percieving, some of
 'them fled, others crept behind the rocks and trees, not one of them
 'were to be seen.

'They then called to them, saying; they desired to speak with them,
 'and that they would lay down their armes for that end, vvhhereupon
 'they stood up. The Captain told them that the *Pequots* had violated
 'their promise and Covenant vwith the English. in that they vvere not
 'there to inhabit, and that he vvas sent to supplant them; The Indians
 'answered, the *Pequots* vvere good men, their friends, and they
 'would fight for them and protect them; vvhich vvords moved the
 'Captain, vvho told them it vvas not far to the head of the creek, vvhere
 'he would meet them, and then they might try vvhat they could do;
 The

The Indians replied, *they would not fight with Englishmen, for they were spirits*; but they would fight with *Uncas*. The Captain told them he thought it was too early for them to fight; but they might take their opportunity and fight when they saw cause, for they should be burning their Wigwams, and carrying their corn aboard all that day, and presently caused the Drum to be beat up, and fired their Wigwams in their view; But as they marched along, there stood two Indians upon an hill jeering & reviling of them; Mr. *Stanton* the interpreter marching at liberty, desired leave of the Captain to make a shot at them; the Captain demanded of the Indians, who they were; they answered that they were murderers; The Captain then gave Mr. *Stanton* leave to make a shot at them, who did so, and shot one of them through both his thighs, which was to the wonderment both of English and Indians, it being at such a vast distance.

They then proceeded and loaded their Bark with Indian Corn, and their Cannoes, about thirty of them, with *Indian Trays, Kettles, Mats*, and other luggage, and then went on board, and made homeward, and it pleased God to prosper them, so that in a short time they all arrived in safety at the place of their abode; Though they were in hazard by the vessels striking upon a rock, and sticking thereon a while in their return, yet the Lord bore them in his own armes, and preserved them from danger.

Thus we may see how the face of God is set against them that do evil, to cut off their remembrance from the earth.

Our tongues therefore shall talk of his righteousness all the day long. for they are confounded, they are brought to shame that sought our hurt. *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doth wonderful things, & blessed be his holy name forever, Let the whole earth be filled with his glory*; for the Lord was pleased to smite our enemies in the hinder parts, and to give us their land for an inheritance, who redeemed us in our low estate, and redeemed us out of our enemies hands; Let us therefore praise the Lord for his goodness and his wonderful works to the Children of men.

Upon the whole it may not be amiss to gather out some specialties of providence, that so the goodness of God may be taken notice of, & our hearts enlarged in the praise and service of that God who hath wrought so wonderfully for our fathers and for us.

Those who were employed in this service were not many, their Commons were very short, there being then a general scarcity throughout this Colony of all sorts of provision, it being upon our very be-

'ginnings on the place, they had but little refreshment with them in
 'their long march from *Narraganset* to *Pequot*; but one pint of liquor
 'which was moderately dealt out to such as fainted in the way, by
 'reason of the extremity of the heat and sore travel: after the liquor
 'was spent, the very smelling to the bottle was effectual for the reviv-
 'ing of the fainting souldiers. They walked in an unknown path, yet
 'God guided them in the way they should go, though they knew not
 'where the *Fort* were, nor how far it was to them, nor the way that
 'lead to them otherwise then what they had from their Indian Guides,
 'in whom they durst not confide, and that in their so long a march a-
 'mong a treacherous people, who had several relations amongst our
 'enemies, and that in their march, and allodgment in the enemies coun-
 'try, which was very populous, they should not be discovered, but
 'brought to their enemies in the fittest season, when more of them then
 'usually were together, and that they should be so succeeded in their
 'design, (as you have heard) is matter of wonderment.
 'What shall I say? God was pleased to hide them in the hollow of
 'his hand. It was a Saying of Mr. *Hooker*, that man of God, in his en-
 'couragements to the Souldiers, as they were going forth to those in-
 'gagements, that the *Pequots* should be bread for them; and the Lord
 'made good his Sayings.
 'It may not be amiss here also to remember Mr. *Stone* (the famous
 'Teacher of the Church of *Hartford*) who was sent to preach & pray with
 'those that went out in these engagements against the *Pequots*; He lent
 'his best assistance and counsel in the management of those designs. and
 'the night in which the engagement was, (in the morning of it) I say
 'that night he was with the Lord alone, wrestling with Him by Faith
 'and Prayer; and surely his Prayers prevailed for a blessing; and in the
 'very time when our Israel were engaging with the blood-thirsty *Pe-
 quots*, he was in the top of the mount, and so held up his hand, that Is-
 'rael prevailed.
 'In those engagements some men had special deliverances. There
 'were two men, being one mans servants, who were both shot in the
 'knots of their neck-cloathes about their necks, and received no hurt.
 'Also Lieut. *Seth*, was shot in the eyebrow with a flat headed arrow,
 'the point turning downward, the Captain himself pulled the arrow
 'out. Lieut. *Bull* was also shot on the back with an arrow, which met
 'with an hard piece of cheese and went no further, which may verify the
 'old Saying *a little armour would serve. If a man knew where to place it.*
 'Thus the Lord did great things for his people among the Heathen
 'whereof we are glad, Praise ye the Lord.

The

The year following, the Colony of Connecticut being in great want of provision, Indian corn being at twelve shillings the bushel: The Court of Connecticut employed Capt. Mason & Mr. William Wadsworth, and Deacon Edward Stebbing, to make a trial what providence would afford for their relief, in this great streight; who notwithstanding some discouragements they met with from some English, went to a place called *Pocomtuck*, where they procured so much corn or at reasonable rates, that the Indians brought down to *Hartford* and *Windsor* fifty cannoes laden with corn at one time, never was the like known to this day, so that although the Lord was pleased to shew his people hard things in their beginnings, yet did he execute judgment for the oppressed, and gave food to the Hungry, affording them his continued protection and blessing, in the bountifull supply of the good things of this life, with the continuance of his gospel and ordinances, and a plentiful Increase of their number, from four Plantations which was then the alone number of the Colony of Connecticut; to twenty four towns, which is the present number of towns in this Colony, and from three Churches to nineteen, which is the number now settled in this Colony.

Thus farr is Mr. John Allyn his Narrative of the *Peguat* troubles, which I take to be the most perfect account thereof that is extant, or that probably will be now attained, since few of those who were personally concerned in that war, and who are fit to give a Relation thereof, are at this day in the land of the living.

Nevertheless I have met with a Manuscript, in the Library of a learned and worthy person deceased, wherein the passages of the *Peguat* war, are described. The Author of the script I know not, nor can conjecture, saving that it was one who had a particular and personal acquaintance with those affairs. It doth in substance agree with that of Mr. John Allyn: only in some particulars, a more full account of proceedings, is expressed. For, this Manuscript *Anonimus* doth Relate as followeth, viz. That in Anno 1634. a Bark wherein was Capt. Stone, and Capt. Norton, with six men besides going up Connecticut River, were all killed by the *Peguat* Indians, and the Bark sunk near a steep Rock, which to this day bears the name of Capt. Stones Rock. In the year following a Bark going from the Bay, bound to *Virginia*, was by a Tempest cast away at Long-Island, certain *Peguat* there killed two Englishmen, the rest escaping.

In Anno 1636. A Vessel going from Connecticut towards the Bay, putting in at Block Island, the Indians coming aboard to trade, killed the Master. Another vessel coming from Connecticut, taken with a cross wind, intended to put in at *Narraganset*, but could not; being therefore forced upon *Block-Island*, they saw a bark with her sails up, driving too and fro, they hailed her, but no Answer was given; perceiving her full of Indians they suspected the English belonging to the Vessel were murdered, whereupon they discharged their guns, shooting bullets amongst the Indians, who, many of them immediately leaped overboard. The Master entered the Vessel, and lifting up a Cloth saw an Englishman dead, and discerning that many Indians were still in the hold, he returned to his own Vessel again, from thence pouring in small shot upon the Indians, for a while, until the wind coming fair; he sailed away to *Boston*, informing the Governour and Council there, concerning what he had seen, whence about an hundred Souldiers were forthwith sent to *Block-Island*. As they were landing, the Indians came down and shot violently at them, wounding one man, but as soon as one Englishman was landed, they ran away. The English pursued them two dayes, burning their Corn and Wigwams, but the Indians betook themselves to Swamps, thereby escaping with their lives. After this they resolved for the *Pequot* Country, having received some Intelligence of the Insolency and outrage of those Indians. As they were sailing up the River, many of the *Pequots* on both sides of the River called to them, desirous to know what was their end in coming thither, they were told that they desired to speak with *Sassacus*, one of the Sachems; the Indians said he was gone to *Long-Island*; then it was demanded that *Momanottuck* another of their Sachems should appear. It was pretended that he was not at home neither. The English went a shore, and required the Indians to deliver up those that had murdered Capt. *Stone*, it was Answered, that they were also gone from home, but they would send after them, and deliver them to Justice, and that they might the better keep the English in parley, they said that their Sachem would presently come and treat with them. In the mean time they transported their goods, women and Children to another place.

At last one of the Indians declared plainly, that *Momanottuck* would not come. Immediately a Skirmish followed, wherein one Indian was killed, and an English man was wounded. The Indians fled, the English pursuing, set fire to their Wigwams, and destroyed their Corn, so did they return to their Vessel. A few dayes after this, going on shore again;

again, as they were loading themselves with Corn the Indians violently assaulted them, so that they were forced to leave their Corn and stand to their Arms, At this time an Indian was killed and two English men sorely wounded. The Indians attempted the Vessels, but were entertained with such Volleys of smal shot, as made them afraid to board any, so the Barks arrived safe at *Say-brook* Fort. The next day some of the Fort going up the River to fetch Hay, the *Pequots* privily came upon them took one man and afterward roasted him alive, another shot with five Arrows lived fourteen weeks and dyed, the rest escaped with much danger. After this the *Pequots* came near the Fort & destroyed many of the English Cattel. About two miles distant from the Fort there was an English house wherein were Souldiers. Their Commander charged them not to go out of doors, yet three of them would venture, and as they were a musket shot from the house, the Indians encompassed them, and took two of them alive, the third being wounded did with his naked Sword escape through them to the house, relating to the Company the sad Event, and that one of those English that were taken did first kill two Indians. The next day all the English deserted that house and repaired to the Fort. The Indians then quckly burned that, and two other houses. They made towards the Fort as if they would have done some great matter; but a great Gun being discharged at them, they went quite away, and were no more seen at *Say-brook* for the greatest part of that winter. Only three miles up the River two men going in a Canoo to shoot Geese, the Indians hearing the Report of their Guns, came upon them. Those two English fought to save their lives by padling, but the Indians pursued them with another Canoo shot at them and wounded one in his head, who fell overboard, the other shot stoutly at the Indians, but at last being wounded and wearied, the Indians overtook him, he with his paddle cleft one of the Indians heads, but the rest took him, and tortured him to death.

Feb. 22. The Lieut. with nine Souldiers well armed, went out of the Fort to burn the woods thereabouts, being gone half a mile from home they were besett with about seventy Indians, who let fly their Arrows very fiercely; the English retreated, one man presently was shot in the neck, and then did they lay hands on him, he drew his Sword, but that was taken from him; Then would he (as the Indians afterwards testified) have killed himself with his own knife, but that also did the Indians deprive him of, and cut off his nose and hands, and put him to a cruel death; They shot down another English man with three

Arrows, and a third had one of his ribs cleft with an Arrow, so that he died immediately. A fourth was mortally wounded, and though he got home alive, he died within fourteen hours, a fifth was sorely wounded, but afterwards recovered, and lived (the next year) to behead that very Indian who had shot an arrow into him. Yea, the Lieut. himself was wounded in this Skirmish. After this the Indians kept Leaguer before *Saybrook* Fort.

March. 9. A body of Indians, consisting (as was conjectured) of two or three hundred came within musket shot of the Fort, challenging the English to come out and fight, mocking and upbraiding them with such words as the English used when by them tortured to death, and bragged that they could kill English men *all one flies*: But two great Gunns laden with Carthages of musket bullets being fired at them, away they went, and hearing that the *Narragansets* were invading their country, they visited *Seybrook* no more.

After these things, a shallop coming down from Connecticut, with three men rowing, was set upon by several canoes of Indians, the English fought stoutly so long as they could, but one of them being shot through the nose, so as the arrow went out at the crown of his head, fell overboard and dyed: The other two were taken by the Indians, who ripped them up from the bottom of the belly to the throat, and cleft them down the back throughout, and afterwards hung them up by the neck on a tree by the River side, that the English might see them as they passed by; the shallop they drew ashore and set on fire.

May. 15. 1637. Some of *Uncas*'s men being then at *Saybrook*, in order to assisting the English against the *Pequots*, espied seven Indians, and slyly encompassing them, slew five of them, and took one Prisoner, and brought him to the English Fort, which was great satisfaction and encouragement to the English, who before that exploit had many fears touching the fidelity of the *Mohcag* Indians. He whom they took Prisoner, was a perfidious Villain, one that could speak English well, having in times past lived in the fort, and knowing all the English there, had been at the slaughtering of all the English that were slaughtered thereabouts; He was a continual spy about the fort, informing *Sassacus* of what he saw or could learn. When this bloody traitor was executed, his limbs were by violence pulled from one another, and burned to ashes; some of the Indian executioners barbarously taking his flesh, they gave it to one another, and did eat it, withall singing about the fire.

It is also reported that before the *Misick* fight, a friendly Indian that

that was sent thither as a secret spy, brought word that the *Piquots* were singing, and dancing, and blessing their God, in that they supposed the English were gone from them; and that in the night the English came upon them, they were fallen into a deep sleep, by reason of their long dancing the night before, and their sentinell was gone out of his place to light a pipe of Tobacco, just as the English surprized them, and when our souldiers gave fire there was not one that missed; the *Piquots* so alarumed, in horreur and amazement, crying *Wannocks Wannocks*, i.e. Englishmen, Englishmen; some of the old men taking hold of others that were willing to run away, and saying, as we have lived together, so let us dy together, the Wigwam which was first set on fire, being to the windward side carried all before it, (as is in the Narrative intimated) At that time there were two English men slain, (one of which was thought to be shot by an English man) and twenty four wounded, whereof one dyed within few dayes. Also fourty Indians that were friends to the English were hurt in that engagement. It was supposed that no less then five or six hundred *Pequot* souls were brought down to Hell that day. Moreover, it is therein added, that as the English marched towards their vessels in the River, still as they came near any swamp, they sent in a volley of shot lest the enemy should haply be in ambush in those dark places of the earth, and some Indians have related that the English did by that means kill more men of war in their marching away, then in the fight at the Fort, whereby also *Sassacus* his plot to cut off the English as they passed by swamp-ambushments was utterly and happily frustrated.

It is further said, that an Indian called *Wequosb* did direct the English to the Fort at *Mistick*, which *Wequosb* was by birth a Sachim of that place but upon some disgust received, he went from the *Pequots* to the *Narragansets*, and became a chief Captain under *Miantonime*; and that there were with those eighty English Souldiers, who engaged in this expedition against the *Piquots*, at first four hundred Indians, whereof three hundred were *Narragansets*. The day before the fight there was some agitation which Fort should be first assaulted, whether that of *Mistick*, or another eight miles further, where *Sassacus* himself resided. The English were an end to be upon *Sassacus*, but the Indians were afraid saying, that *Sassacus* was *all one God*, and no body could kill him; this made the English yet more desirous to try what power was in this *imaginary Deity*, and that was the conclusion, whereupon many of the *Narragansets* withdrew, and returned all home, reporting that the English were cut off by the Indians, the same of which was quickly at

Boston; to the great affliction of the English until such time as the truth of things was certainly known. In this *Interim* one of Capt. *Underhills* Souldiers fell lame, not being able to go so far as the place where *Sassacus* was supposed to be; whence the Captain changed his purpose, and determined for *Mistick*; and Capt. *Mason* was not willing they should part asunder, so did they agree to make their Assault there; few or none of the Indians which were in the Fort escaped, whole companies of them gathered together and were burnt to death; those that escaped the Fire, the English without the Fort slew them with the sword, so that round about the Fort, dead men lay, hideous to behold.

The *Indians Goliath*, even their only Champion, being a man of huge stature was then slain, he brake through the souldiers, and although one *Sergeant* stroke him on the neck with his Cutlash, he got by him, and by five souldiers more, but the sixth killed him.

And those that escaped the sword, the friendly Indians that encompassed the English took as Captives to the number of eighteen.

This was done upon Friday, May, 26. Anno 1637. A Memorable Day.

Upon this notable victory *Sassacus* his heart failed him, his men of war being many of them cut off, so that he fled his Country, breaking down his Forts, and burning his Wigwams himself, he marched away by land, with some men, women and Children, their goods being sent away in *Cannoes*. The English at *Say-brook* had notice of the *Cannoes*, and an advantage to stop their passage, but Capt. *Kilpatrick* delayed until the opportunity was gone, so that *Sassacus* with his routed train coming up to the *Cannoes* six miles from *Say-brook* Fort, was transported over the River, and fled towards *Quinipiack*. Being now enraged he solicited his men of War, that they might go, and fall upon the English at *Connecticut*, but some of them not consenting, that design of his was not put in execution; he therefore fled to the *Mohawks*, who (being as is supposed excited thereto by the revengfull *Narragansets*) cut off his head.

Many of the *Peguots* before *Sassacus* his death returned to their Country again; but souldiers being sent from the *Massachusetts* the returned *Peguots* were presently distressed, ours ran sacking their country, and settling a garrison therein, quickly came back to *Say-brook*, with one of the *Pequot* Sachims, and other *Indian* Captives. After which a supply of men from *Connecticut* coming to the *Massachusetts* Souldiers, they sailed westward in pursuit of the *Peguots* who were fled that way, sailing along to the westward of *Monomuntuck*, the wind

wind not answering their desires, they cast Anchor, where two *Sachems* from *Long-Island* came to them, desiring peace and promising to deliver up whatever *Pequots* should fly to them for shelter, some scattering *Pequots* were then taken and slain, as also the *Pequot Sachem*, before expressed, had his head cut off, whence that place did bear the name of *Sachems head*. Being come near to *Quinpiack* observing a smock, it was conjectured that the Enemy might be thereabouts, whereupon Indians were set on shore to hunt after them, but they could find no more then two, one of which was the *Sachems* son of that place, supposed to be Confederate with the *Pequots*. They promised to conduct the English to the Enemy, but failed in performance. After that they took another Indian Captive, who likewise engaged to lead the English upon the *Pequots*, but he directed them into a quite contrary way, for which his life was deservedly taken from him. But an Indian called *Luz*, who was before taken Captive by our Souldiers in the *Pequot* Country, with two other Indians that were his kinsmen, promised if the English would give him, and his kinsmen their lives, He would conduct them to the Enemies they sought after. He did so, the *Pequots* with other Indians belonging to those parts, were found near a Swamp, into which they did betake themselves for safety, upon the approach of the English Souldiers. After a while, an Indian came out of the Swamp unarmed, with a present of *Wampam*, The English declared to him that they came not to take away the lives of the Indians nor their goods, if they would deliver up the murderers that were amongst them. After which ninety nine came forth with their *Sachim*, who offered as a present all the Estate he had to dispose of, and that was nothing but the Coat on his back, being a Bears Skin. He was sent into the Swamp again to signify to the *Pequots* there lurking, that if they would bring forth the murderers it should be better for them, which they would not do, but at last professed they had lived together, and they would dy together.

There were about seventy or eighty Indians in the Swamp, amongst whom there were twelve murderers. So then the English besett the Swamp, and shot in upon them, and the Indians at them, some of which were furnished with Guns. One in special that was climbing up a Tree to shoot at the English, was espyed by a Souldier, who sent a Bullet into him before the other could make his shot. In the night time the Indians brake away. Diligent search was the next day made in the Swamp for dead Indians, Not many, (as some have made Narration) but seven, and no more could be found. As for the Captives a

Guard

Guard was appointed to look after them, they were charged upon peril of their lives not to attempt running away; yet one of them betook himself to his heels, but a Souldier shot after him, and killed him, which struck a Terror into the rest of the Captives, that no man durst make an offer to escape. These things do I find related by *Anonymous*. There is not much more additional to what is expressed in Mr. *Allyn's* Narrative, some of these particulars insisted on confirming the truth of that. Only one thing more is contained therein which I have not elsewhere met with, which therefore it may not be amiss here to take notice of. It is this, Whereas on April 23. 1637. The Indians coming upon the English at *Wethersfield* killed nine persons, and took two young women alive, and carried them away Captives, means were used to effect their deliverance, but at first, in vain.

On May 8. A Dutch Sloop came by *Saybrook* Fort, having on Board an Indian Captive, who said she was *Momonottocks* Squaw. The English there desired the Dutch-men to let them have the Squaw in order to redeeming the English Captives, offering to give them to the value of two hundred pound, provided that those Captives might be set at liberty. The Dutchmen hoping to gain much by such an Indian were some of them loth to part with her. In Conclusion Capt. *Underhill* (who then commanded the Fort) having obtained the Consent of the Master of the Vessel, did *Vi & armis* take the Squaw out of the Sloop. Afterwards when the *Moheags* came to *Saybrook* that Squaw appeared to be one belonging to them, whom the *Pequots* had Captivated, and she made the Dutch believe she was *Momonottocks* Squaw, hoping that thereby she should obtain the more courteous usage amongst those into whose hands she was fallen, so that the contest between the English and Dutch about her was needless. In the *Interim* the Dutch Governour sent another Sloop, with order to redeem the English Captives if possible, and those Dutch did in Conclusion wilily accomplish their design. For being arrived in the *Pequot* Country, certain Indians coming aboard to trade with them after they had been trafficking they were clapt under Hatches, and told they should not be set at liberty, except they would deliver the English maids that were Captivated, and presently hoisted Sayle, as if they would be gone. The *Pequots* on shore called to them, declaring that if they would come to an Anchor, the English Captives should be brought to them, which was done, and the men whom the Dutchmen had secured in their Sloop given in Exchange for the English Captives, who were also brought safe to *Saybrook*, May, 16. where our Souldiers waited for a wind to carry them to engage with the

the *Pequots*, and that Wind which for a few dayes kept the English from going upon their expedition, brought that Dutch Sloop to redeem those Captives, concerning whom there was no other hope (and that was a trouble to some) but that the English would be necessitated to destroy them amongst the Indians, in the day when their Fort should be attacked.

Some have thought that in these Narratives, there is not due notice taken of what was done by the *Massachusetts* Forces. The Truth is, the Conquest obtained over the *pequots* was wonderfully the Lords doing, nor may we ascribe much to man therein, yet must it be acknowledged (and the Narratives deny it not) that Capt. *Underkil* (and those under his Command) who was sent from the *Massachusetts* did acquit himself worthily, when the Indians at *Mistick* Fort were cut off. It must also be owned that the *Massachusetts* Souldiers did glean the *Pequots* after that, (and we know who to pacify those that were unreasonably dissatisfied, was ready to say, *Is not the gleanings of Ephraim better then the Vintage of Abiezer* ;) Likewise they had an equal hand with others in the Service done at the Swamp, where such a multitude of Indians were either slain or taken as Captives.

And besides these things insisted on, there are who have taken notice of some other specialties of Divine providence, relating to those Commotions which have been of momentous consideration, to the people inhabiting this wilderness, which it may not be amiss here to remark. It is then worthy our observation, that the guilty bloody *Pequots* after they had treacherously murdered Capt. *Stone* and his Company, brought presents of *wampam* and *Bever* to the English at *Boston*, desiring their Friendship, pleading that *Stone* had (who was like enough to do it) offered some abuse to them, in surprizing divers Indians, and binding them, and forcing them to shew him the way up the River, &c. -- wherefore a peace was concluded upon condition they would suffer the English who desired to inhabit *Connecticut*, there quietly to live, and also deliver up those men who had been guilty of *Stones* death. These things were not performed by the *Pequots*. The Reason why they were the more willing to have peace with the English was, in that they were fallen out with the Dutch at *Monhatus*, as also with the *Narrhagansets* who were then potent and numerous; and at first they thought scorn to make Overtures of peace to them, proudly designing the subjugation of all their neighbour Indians, which wrought well for the English. Howbeit not unlike him that said, --- *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo*. When they saw they could not attain their

their Ends with the English, except they would let Justice have a free passage, and having Contracted fresh bleeding guilt upon themselves, by new and outrageous murders, and cruelties, they earnestly solicited the *Narragansets* to joyn with them in their wicked Confederacy against the English, *Satan* suggesting to them such Arguments as did almost prevail. For they told the *Narragansets* that if they joyned with the English, they did but make way for their own Ruine, since after the *Pequots* were conquered, they would find an occasion to fall upon the *Narragansets*, and that they should not need to come to open battel with the English, only fire their Houses, and kill their Cattel, and lye in ambush to shoot them as they went about their occasions, so would they quickly be forced to leave this Country, and the Indians in the mean while not exposed to any great hazard. Had the *Narragansets* been overcome by these Arguments, it would have occasioned far greater Trouble and hazard to all the English Colonies, newly settled in this Land; But therefore God in mercy to his people prevented it. Commissioners were then sent from *Boston* into the *Narragansett* Country, to endeavour that those Indians might be kept from Compliance with the enemy. There is one who having a little enquired into these things, doth Relate that the old *Kanonicus* did dissuade the *Pequots* from war, advising rather to deliver up the murderers. They made believe as if they would do so, and when a Band of Souldiers was sent into the *Pequot* Country for that end, they bid them stay a while, and the murderers should be brought to them, and certain Indians conversing with our Souldiers, did very much observe the Armor which was upon them, and would point where they should hit them with their Arrows, notwithstanding. In fine, when a great Body of Indians appeared on an Hill not far off, those that were with the Souldiers went over to them, when they all came together, they gave a scornful shout, and so ran all away, making their boast to others, how they had deluded the English; So that *Canonicus* his advise to the *Pequots* took no effect. After which the *Narragansets* were not only prevailed with to decline joyning with the enemy, but (as is intimated in the above written Narrative) they pretended they would fight for the English; albeit when it came to in good earnest, they proved themselves Cowards, doing little against the enemies, except by unmanly insultations when they saw them in misery: For whereas it was customary with the *Pequots*, when they had overcome their enemies insultingly to triumph, saying, *O brave Pequots!* The *Narragansets* seeing them wounded or consuming to death in their burning wigwams, would taunt

at them and vaunt over them, saying, *O brave Pequots! O brave Pequots!* The more of a divine hand is there to be taken notice of in overcoming the *Pequots* by a small number of English and Indians. Also the *Pequots* were more furnished with Armes then before times they had been; since the *Dutchmen* had sold some Guns to them; and besides their bowes and arrows they had an abundance of small hatchets, and *Mohawgs*-hammers made of stone, yet God would not suffer them to find their hands.

What special acts of valour were manifested by any of our *Commanders* or souldiers in this expedition, beyond what is expressed in the forementioned *Narrative*, I am not able to *Relate*; Nor am I (though willing that mens vertues should be duely acknowledged) disposed to say much on these accounts, respecting such as are yet alive: as knowing that however it may please some by nourishing a proud humour, it would be nauseous to others, and deemed adulatory by wise and impartial Readers.

Only I remember Capt. *Davenport* (that good man, who was afterwards Commander of the Castle at *Boston*, and there slain by lightning) once told me, that himself, with two or three more, engaged with no lesse then thirty Indians, and that there were seventeen arrows shot into his Coat, but having on a Coat of Male, none of those arrows hurt him, only one that happened to strike where he was not defended by his Coat.

Also he rescued a poor souldier, that was in extream danger of being devoured by those Wolves; For two Mastive-Indians that lay in ambush, as a party of souldiers passed by, supposing they had been all past, snatched hold of him whom they thought to be the last man, and were running away with him upon their shoulders; Capt. *Davenport* followed them with his drawn Cutlash, but still as he lifted up his hand to strike at them these *Gigantine Salvages* held up the poor man they were running away with, whereby for a while they secured their own bodies from the blow, until at last missing the Englishman, Capt. *Davenport* smote one of the Indians, whereupon they threw down their prey, and ran for their lives.

He that giveth account of this last passage, doth also *Relate* another particular no lesse pleasant; namely, that whereas the *Pequots* observed, that the English, being willing to shew as much mercy as would stand with justice, did only captivate and not kill the *Squaws*, some great Indian Boyes would cry, *I Squaw, I Squaw*, thereby thinking to escape with their lives.

But to be serious. That which Governour *Winthrop* writeth in his Letter, published by Mr. *Morton*, is very memorable. *viz.* that in one fight, though the Indians coming up close to our men, shot their Arrows thick upon them, so as to pierce their hat brims, and their Sleeves, and Stockings, and other parts of their Cloaths, yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as that (excepting three that rashly ventured into a Swamp after them) not one of them was wounded. And truly to set aside carnal Considerations, there are two Reasons obvious, that may be assigned as causes of that glorious and speedy success, which God gave to the English against the *Pegot* Indians.

1. The blasphemy of those Enemies. For some of them said, that English mans God was one Flye, which execrable blasphemy the blessed God would not bear from those his Enemies. Also when some English were cruelly tortured to death by them, they would in a way of derision bid them call upon God now, and blasphemously mock at them when they did so. Therefore did the Lord bring those bloody blasphemers in a moment down to Hell, yea, and damned them above ground, when they lay frying in the Fire that was kindled upon their houses, and making horrible Outcries.

2. There was a mighty Spirit of Prayer and Faith then stirring, both in those that staid at home, and in some that ventured their lives in the high places of the Field. That Reverend man of God Mr. *Wilson* (who excelled in those graces of Faith and Love) went forth with the Soldiers that were sent from this Colony. I think I have my self heard him say, (or if I have not, others have) that he was before he went out, as certain that God would give the English the Victory over those Enemies, as if he had seen the Victory already obtained. Such great Faith did the Lord stir up in the Heart of that Holy man, and of other his Servants, and by Faith did they turn to Fight the Armies of the Aliens. So then, these Enemies being subdued, in such wayes and by such means as hath been expressed, the Terror of God fell upon all the Heathen round about, and the English were dreadful to them: when they heard that the English had slain, and taken Captive seven hundred Indians, and killed Thirteen *Sachims*, (who are their Kings) there was no more Spirit left in them. The *Pegots* best friends were afraid to receive such as fled to them for Refuge. But happy was he counted that could make friendship with the English, so that two of the *Sachims* in *Long-Island* came to that worthy Gentleman Captain (afterwards Lieut. Colonel) *Stoughton*, entreating that they might be under our protection. Also two of the *Napanner* *Sachims*, addressed themselves to Governour *Winthrop*

throp, seeking to be in favour with the English. These things deserve to be mentioned amongst the *Magnalia Dei*, which he hath wrought for his *New-England-People*.

Matters being again reduced to this peaceable state, that Land rested from war, and that for the space of almost forty years together. Howbeit Jealousies amongst the English grounded upon Treacheries and Conspiracies amongst the Indians, (and some particular acts of Hostility and Outrages by them committed) there have been, more than once or twice, since the *Pequot-Troubles* were ended.

For in Anno 1638. the publick peace was endangered by occasion of a murder committed by an English man upon an Indian. Thus it was. One *Arthur Peach* a young Desperado, who had been a Souldier in the *Pequot* war, and done notable Service, being bold and forward in any desperate Attempt, after he was returned home he was loth to go to work, wherefore he resolved to go to the Dutch Plantation, and enticed three persons, that were other mens servants, to run away with him. As they were travailing through the woods, they met a *Narraganset Indian*, and desired him to take a pipe of Tobacco, which the Indian was willing to do, *Peach* told his *Comrades*, he would kill him; they were a raid to do that, but let him alone to do as he would. When he saw his Time, He ran the Indian through with his Rapier, and took away his *Wampam* from him, supposing he had left him dead, but after they were gone, the Indian made a shift to get home, where he dyed of his wound within few dayes; But told other Indians that such and such English-men had mortally wounded him; The *Sachims* therefore presently found out these men (only one of them escaped) who had done the murder, and carried them away to the English at *Aquidnet* Island, where they were examined and committed. In the mean time the *Narragansets* were about to rise in Arms, some of them conceiving that they should find the *Pequots* words true, that the English would fall upon them, now the other were vanquished. To be short, the murder being confessed by the parties guilty, the Court in *Plymouth* did by advice from Magistrates and elders in the *Bay*, condemn and see execution done upon those three *English men* for murdering that one Indian, whereupon the other Indians magnified the Justice which they saw amongst the *English*, and peace was continued. Yet after this new fears and troubles did arise upon other accounts. For although the *Narragansets*, and the *Mobeags* did Anno 1638. come under solemn promise that they would not engage in a war, either amongst themselves or with other Indians, until they had advised with, and obtained appro-

bation from the English, Nevertheless *Miantonimo*, the chief *Narraganset Sachim*, was continually picking quarrels with the *Moheags*, designing to make them become his Vassals. Some (*viz.* Mr. *Gorges* and Mr. *Johnson*) have related that *Miantonimo* was set on by certain *vagabond English*, known by the Name of *Gortonians*, who being deep Apostates from, and bitter enemies unto the wayes of Christ, professed by our Fathers, might easily be induced to animate motions of that nature. However *Miantonimo* chose rather to accomplish his ends upon the *Moheags* by Treachery, than by open war; and hired a *Pequot* Indian who was subjected to *Uncas* (the *Moheags Sachim*) to assassinate him that was become his Lord, which the Indian attempted accordingly; insomuch as on a certain evening as *Uncas* was passing from one *Wigwam* to another, he was shot into the arm by an arrow, but recovered the house he intended, without receiving further hurt.

The Indian who was suspected about this matter, being called to an account about a great sum of *Wampam-peag*, by him possessed, could not give any tolerable account, how he came by his money, which augmented jealousies of his being hired by *Miantonimo* to kill *Uncas*. *Uncas* then made his complaint to the English; the issue was, that *Miantonimo* and the suspected Indian came to *Boston*, where he was examined, at first in the presence of *Miantonimo*, by whose help he had framed an *Artificial Lye*, saying, that one night as he came out of a thick swamp, *Uncas* desired him to say that he was hired by *Miantonimo* to kill *Uncas*, and that therefore he cut his arm with the flint of his Gun, that men might think he had been shot with an arrow. This pitiful story made the English suspect *Miantonimo* more vehemently then ever, and upon a further private examination (much against *Miantonimo's* mind) they saw cause to believe that he was secretly designing mischief against the English, as well as against *Uncas*. Nevertheless, it was thought best to dismiss him for the present, only with an engagement to remit the suspected *Pequot* to his Master *Uncas*: He contrary to his promise, as he was returning home cut off the poor *Pequots* head, whereby he was made incapable of discovering any thing further about matters between *Miantonimo*, and him.

Being come home, he forthwith resolveth to be revenged upon *Uncas*, and with a thousand *Narragansets* gave him battel, but the *Moheags*, (though not half their number) worsted the *Narragansets*, and took *Miantonimo*, their chief Sachem, prisoner, and brought him to the Town of *Hartford*, desiring advise from the English concerning the disposal of him. The Commissioners of the united Colonies

nies, considering that *Miantonimo* had shed blood by raising an unjust war against the *Moheags* their friends, to whom they had engaged protection, & that he was treacherous to the English, & peace not like to be settled among the Indians, nor continued with the English except he were dispatched (together with some other reasons, more fully expressed in the Declaration published by the Commissioners, Anno 1645.) they counselled *Uncas* to put him to death, withal prohibiting him to use any Crueltyes in the manner of his execution, it being customary with barbarous Indians (who like their Father the Devil are delighted in Crueltyes) to put their enemies to the greatest Tortures they can devise, when they kill them. The advice was followed. *Uncas* led away *Miantonimo* as if he would carry him to another place, for custody and safety, and by the way very fairly cut off his head, as he not a year before had served one of *Uncas* his men. These things hapned Anno 1643.

In the next year the peace of two of these Colonies, *viz.* those of *Connecticut* and *New Haven* was disturbed by the *Indians*.

For, first an English man running away from his Master, out of the *Massachusetts* was murdered in the woods near *Connecticut* by an Indian; & about six weeks after was discovered by another Indian, a Sagamore in those parts promised to deliver the murderer bound to the English; and having brought him to *Uncaway* a *Connecticut* Sachim, he was there unbound it seems by their joynt consent, & left to shift for himself, whereupon ten English men, who were forthwith sent by Mr. *Ludlow* to the place, seeing the murderer was escaped, laid hold on eight Indians there present, amongst whom there was a Sagamore or two, and kept them in hold two dayes, until four *Sagamores* ingaged themselves within one Moneth to deliver the Malefactor unto Justice; About a week after which agreement an Indian came presumptuously, and in the day time murderously assaulted an English woman, in an house in *Stamford*, and by three wounds (supposed mortal) left her for dead, and robbed the house. The Indians generally in those parts demeaned themselves after an hostile manner, refused to come to the English, or to attend Treaties of peace, departed from their *wigwams*, left their Corn unweeded, and shot off Guns near some English Plantations in a Tumultuary way, and some Indians informed that there was a purpose to fall upon the English; so that there was watching and warding day and night, *New-Haven* and *Hartford* were sent unto, that relief might be afforded to the weaker Towns, also application was made to the other Colonies for Assistance. At last the Indians were perswaded to deliver the murderers up to Justice. So did these dark Clouds blow over.

Never

Nevertheless, in this year (*viz.* in Anno 1644.) the Rage of the *Narragansets* against the *Mohawks* did break out again in greater violence than ever before, inasmuch that *Uncas* was forced to betake himself to a Fort, and was there surrounded with multitudes of those Indians. The English thought it their concern, not to suffer him, to be swallowed up by those Adversaries, since he had (though for his own ends) approved himself faithful to the English from time to time. The *Narragansets* perceiving that the English did (as they had Reason to) favour *Uncas*, began to be high and Insolent in their expressions & actions, threatening to destroy the English (only as to the English at *Providence* and *Rhode-Island* the *Narraganset Sachims* concluded a neutrality, as well as the *Mohawks*.

Before these things, there being four Colonies of English Inhabitants settled in this Country, *viz.* *Massachusetts*, *Plymouth*, *Connecticut* and *New-Haven*, (which is since become a part of *Connecticut* Colony) who were sensible of the common danger they were exposed unto, by reason of Indians throughout this Land as also in that *Dutch* and *Swedes*, and *French* had seated themselves not far off, who might some of them probably prove evil Neighbours, and withal considering that, as he in the famous Poet expresseth.

Συνοψήν δ' ἐστὶν πῶς ἀνδρῶν καὶ μάλ' ἀνδρῶν
Νῆς δ' ἐκείν' ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης.

Vis unita fortior, if they were all confederate it would tend to the safety of the whole: Articles of confederation were agreed upon, whence these were called the *United Colonies*: And now was there an opportunity for them to act as became such; wherefore each of the Colonies did proportionably first send out Souldiers to keep Garrison with *Uncas*, and after that raised an Army in order to war with the *Narragansets*.

When a war was with good advice concluded on, forty men were immediately sent out of the *Massachusetts* to relieve *Uncas*, who upon the departure of *Connecticut* Souldiers (their time appointed them to keep Garrison with *Uncas* being expired) was presently set upon by the *Narragansets*; but further attempts upon him were prevented, by the coming of these from the *Massachusetts*. Also before the other Colonies could expedite what concerned the whole design, Forces were sent out of *Plymouth*, under the command of Capt. *Standish*, and marched as far as *Rehoboth*, that being near the borders of the enemy.

That worthy Commander, Major *Edward Gibbons*, was appointed as *General*. *Mr. Thompson* Pastor of the Church in *Braintree*, being in
diverse

diverse respects eminently fitted for such a Service, was to sound the silver Trumpet along with this Army. They did solemnly take their leave of their friends and were solemnly commended to the Blessing of the God of Armies: But as they were just marching out of *Boston*, (their baggage being sent before towards the enemies quarters) many of the principal *Narraganset* Indians, viz *Pessicum*, *Mexano*, & *Witawash* Sagamores, and *Awasquin* deputy for the *Nianticks*, these with a large Train came to *Boston*, suing for peace, being willing to submit to what Terms the English should see cause to impose upon them.

It was demanded of them that they should defray the charges that they had put the English to, and that the *Sachims* should send their sons to be kept as Hostages in the hands of the English until such time as the money should be payed. All this did the *Narragansets* yield unto,

Mel in ore, verbalactis, Fel in corde fraus in factis.

Notwithstanding the *Narragansets* have disssembled friendship with the English, yet venome hath been in their hearts ever since these motions: Nor was there any other then *Fides Græca* observed by them, in the performance of their engagements.

In the first place they endeavoured to play *Leger de main* in their sending Hostages. For instead of *Sachims* Children, they thought to send some other, and to make the English believe that those base *papooses*, were of a royal progeny, but they had those to deal with, who were too wise to be so eluded. After the expected Hostages, were in the hands of the English, the *Narragansets* notwithstanding that, were slow in the performance of what they stood engaged for. And when upon a partial discharge of the debt, their Hostages were restored to them, they become more backward than formerly, until they were by hostile preparations again and again terrified into better obedience. At last Major *Atherton*, (then Capt. *Atherton*) of *Dorchester* was sent with a small party of English Souldiers to demand what was due. He at first entred into the *wigwam*, where old *Ninnigret* (the *Nyantick* Sachim) resided, with only two or three Souldiers, appointing the rest by degrees to follow him, two or three dropping in at once, when his small Company were come about him, that Indians in the mean time supposing that there had been many more behind, he caught the Sachim by the hair of his head, and set a pistol to his breast, protesting who ever escaped, he should surely dy, if he did not forthwith comply with what was required. Hereupon a great trembling and Consternation surprized the Indians, albeit multitudes of them were then present, with spiked arrows at their Bow strings ready to let fly. The event was, the In-

dians submitted, and not one drop of bloud was shed. Nor was there (so far as I am informed) after this any open discovery of enmity in the *Narragansets* against the English until such time as *Philip* began his his great Rebellion. Yet it is evident that there hath been treachery, and secret Treason against the English, amongst them.

Astutum vapido servant sub pectore Vulpem.

I have been told that a man of God (viz. Mr. *Street*, who formerly lived not far from those parts) observing the perfidiousefness of those *Narragansets*, and their enmity against the Gospel, publickly declared that he foresaw the destruction of the *Narraganset* Nation, solemnly confirming his speech in saying, *If God do not destroy that people, then say that his spirit hath not spoken by me.*

Surely that holy man was a Prophet, *Μένει γ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκκαλεῖ καλῶς.* *Qui bene conjiciet, hunc Valem.* And this is a Summary account of what hath in former years hapned between us and the *Narragansets*.

Considering, that the *Narraganset* Troubles have been of no small concernment, it would be worth the while a little more fully to relate the Truth about those motions. Only it is already done in good part by that Declaration which was published by the Commissioners of these united Colonies, Anno. 1645. (together with the Articles then consented unto, and subscribed by the *Narraganset* Sachims) Whoso pleaseth to consult those things will receive satisfaction concerning the War which was at that time fully intended, but not actually prosecuted by reason of the Indians Compliance as hath been specified.

In Anno: 1646. They failed in the performance of their Covenants, above expressed, as to every particular therein contained.

It is also evident that they had by presents of *Wampam* been practising with the *Mohawks*, and other Indians to engage them against *Uncas*, unto whom they knew the English had promised protection. So that the English according to the Rules of Righteousness, might have righted themselves by the justice of War, yet being desirous rather to manifest Long-suffering towards these Barbarians, the Commissioners of the united Colonies contented themselves with sending a Declaration to the *Narraganset* and *Niantick* Indians, signifying that they should no longer delay the performance of what they had bound themselves unto, as ever they would not be look'd upon as a treacherous and perfidious people, no more to be treated with.

This Year also there was Trouble and fears raised in the Country, by reason of the *River-Indians*, at *Waranoke*, & *Normoottuck*, who it seems were secretly contriving the Death of those famous Worthies,
Mr.

Mr. *Hopkins*, Mr. *Hains*, Mr. *Whiting* Magistrates in *Conn Elicut* Colony. For I find upon publick *Record*, that complaints and informations about that matter (in September, 1646) were brought before the Commissioners then assembled at *New-haven*, where an Indian testified that *Sequasson* the *Sachim* of *Waranoke*, had given him a sum of money on condition that he would murder the Gentlemen mentioned.

Before the Commissioners convened, Mr. *Haines* had twice sent to *Sequasson*; but he neglected to make his appearance: Wherefore *Jonathan Gilbert* was sent to him again, to signify from the Commissioners that they expected *Sequasson's* appearance before them, and to answer what he was accused with, and they promised him free passage both to and from *Newhaven*, withall intimating that his withdrawing himself would greatly augment the suspicion of his guilt.

The Messenger quickly returned, bringing word, that he could not speak with *Sequasson*, who he supposed had received notice of his coming by other Indians, and was thereupon fled.

But a few days after, *Nipnisoi* and *Naimetayhu* two *Sagamores*, came with some other Indians to *Newhaven*, declaring that they were friends to *Sequasson*, and pretended great respect to the English, and that they had brought *Sequasson* to clear himself, and that although one of them had him by one arm, another by the other, when he was come near the town, he brake from them and was escaped.

The Commissioners told them they intended *Sequasson* no hurt; but desired to bring him and his accusers face to face, that he should have a just hearing in their presence.

Some other Indians informed that *Sequasson* was within a mile of *Newhaven*, and it was conceived that he would gladly make his peace by some other means, rather than by a due examination and Trial. The two *Sagamores* said he was much afraid, and durst not come, though they confessed it was just he should come and clear himself, if innocent; all which being considered, the Commissioners conceived that *Sequasson* whether guilty or afraid of the English, would still be plotting against them and so prove dangerous; wherefore they thought fit, and ordered that all just and prudent means should be used (his life being preserved) to bring him to a tryal, that the matter might be some way issued. In the mean time they thought good to examine *Wotchiborom* a *Pocatuck* Indian, *Sequasson's* accuser, who waited to give in evidence against him. He being warned by *Thomas Stanton* the Interpreter, to speak nothing but truth) affirmed, that being this last Spring at *Waranoke*, in a wigwam with *Sequasson*, and ready to depart, *Sequasson* perswaded him to

stay three days, thence he drew him to the *Falls* above *Mr. Pinchons*; when they had been there four dayes, *Wotchiborow* would have been gone to *Mohag*, to see some friends; *Sequasson* told him it was dangerous travelling that way. he would be killed, walked along with him to a Spring, and there told him that if ever he would doe the said *Sequasson* a kindness now was a time, he was almost ruined, and the English at *Hartford*, the cause of it: He should therefore go to *Hartford* and kill *Mr. Hopkins*, *Mr. Hains*, and *Mr. Whiting* and he would give him a reward, and thereupon pluckt out of his bag three girdles of *wampam*, and gave them to him, with a piece of a girdle of *wampam* to play, and promised him much more. *Wotchiborow* said it was dangerous to kill an English *Sachim*, they would find out the murderer and pursue him to death; what could then *wampam* doe him good? *Sequasson* said he had store of *wampam*, when the thing was done they would fly to the *Mohawks*, but in the way, when they came to the *Wampeag-Indians*, he should give it out that *Uncas* had hired him for so much *wampam*, and that would set the English against *Uncas*, & then he the said *Sequasson* should rise again.

He further told this *Examinee*, that *Naywetayhu*, one of the fore-mentioned *Sagamores* that came on the behalf of *Sequasson*, and his father, knew and approved of the said murther.

Wotchiborow further saith, that having taken the aforesaid *wampam*, he remembred that himself had formerly taken *Busheag*, and brought him to the English, who for a murderous attempt at *Stamford* was put to death at *Newhaven*, that if he should kill any English *Sachim*, he should goe in fear of death all the dayes of his life, and that for bringing in *Busheag*, he had a Gratuity from the English, and for the discovery of this plot he should have their favour, and he thought the favour of the English with security, would be better to him then *Sequassons wampam* with fear and danger; he therefore came first to *Tunksus* and the next day to *Hartford*, and discovered *Sequassons* practice.

He said further, that *Sequasson* hearing of the discovery, spake to *Romanoke* an Indian, and he sent another Indian called *Sixpence* to this *Examinee*, desiring him to hide and conceal as much of the Plot as he could and not to lay all open, but he in anger bad the said *Sixpence* hold his peace, he had discovered it, and would hide nothing.

Thus much doe I find upon Record, relating to *Sequassons* plot. What afterwards came of this business, or how it issued, I cannot say. There was also another trouble about the Indians this year.

For whilst the Commissioners were sitting at *Newhaven*, petitions were presented from *Edward Elmere* and some others, complaining that Indians had wilfully and maliciously burned some quantity of pitch, and Tarr of theirs, together with some bedding, and a Cart with its furniture, and tooles &c. in value above an hundred pounds. And particularly they complained of one *Wasemose*, a *Warancke* Indian as guilty therein, as by sufficient evidence they thought they could prove; and that he hath since avoided all the English Plantations; and that he being sent for by a warrant from one of the Magistrates of *Connecticut*, fled; but being overtaken and seized by some of the English, he was rescued by the Indians, and the English by them jeered and abused, and particularly *Chickwallop Sachim* of *Norwotuck*: Whereupon *Jonathan Gilbert* and *John Griffin*, were sent to *Chickwallop* and *Manasanes*.

At their return, they informed that they could not meet either with *Chickwallop* or *Manasanes*, but the *Sagamores* and Indians at *Waranoke* carried it insolently towards the English, vaunting themselves in their Arms, bows and Arrows, hatchets and Swords, some with their Guns ready charged, before and in the presence of the English Messengers, they primed and cockt them ready to give fire, and told them, that if they should offer to carry away any men thence, the Indians were resolved to fight, yet the next morning the *Sachim* with some others offered the English Messengers eight Fathom of *Wampam* towards satisfaction, and promised to provide more. The Messengers not having anything to that purpose in their Commission, advised the *Sachim* to send to the Commissioners, but he refused. Hereupon, *Naymetayku* one of the *Sagamores* of *Waranoke*, who, as before, came on *Sequanassons* behalf, was questioned by the Commissioners about these proud Affronts to the English; At first he denied what was charged, and excused some part, but one of the English Messengers being present, and he hearing the rest should be sent for, he fell under most of the charge, professing that he intended no harm to the English, Thus concerning disturbance by the Indians in the yerr, 1646.

In Anno, 1647. New fears and troubles arose by reason of the *Narraganset* Indians, there being credible Informations that they were plotting, and by presents of *Wampam* ingaging the Indians round about to combine with them against the English Colonies, inasmuch that a meeting of the Commissioners was called before the ordinary time; Being therefore convened at *Boston*, July 26. A Messenger was sent to *Narraganset*, signifying to *Pesions* and other *Sachims* there, that the English Commissioners expected their appearance at *Boston*, and that if they did,

did refuse or delay, they should no more be sent unto, withal promising them safe conduct, in Case they duly attended. The Messenger being returned informed that *Pesicus* excused his not meeting the Commissioners at *NewHaven* the last year, from his ignorance of the time, when he should attend, though that was falsely pretended by him. He also desired excuse for his not appearing at this time, because he said he was sick, and not able to come, (but the Messengers could not perceive that he was subject to any such sickness or disablement) Nevertheless, he had given full power to *Ninnigret* to act on his behalf. Moreover, he excused his not performing the *Articles* he had subscribed at *Boston*, two years before, by pretending that he was frightened into that Engagement, with the sight of the English Army, which was then ready to invade the *Narraganset* Country, and he thought they would follow him home, and there kill him if he did not promise to do as the English would have him.

August 3. *Ninnigret* with some *Niantick* Indians, and two of *Pesicus* his men came to *Boston*. At first he (though against his Conscience) made as if he were ignorant, and never been informed of the Covenants which the Indians had made to the English, and seemed to wonder that the English should ask such a Sum of *Wampam*, saying that he knew not that the Indians were in the Englishmens Debt. He was then put in mind, how that formerly satisfaction had been demanded of the Indians for the breach of Articles; and how the English Messengers had been ill intreated by them, and particularly by himself, who had used threatening and insolent language, saying to the Messengers, that he knew the Commissioners would endeavour to keep them from warring upon *Uncas*, but they were resolved they would do it for all that, and nothing but *Uncas* his head should satisfy them; and that if the English did not withdraw their Garrisons from the Defence of *Uncas*, they would heap up their Cattel as high as their wigwams, and that he was the man that had given out that an Englishman should not step out of doors to piss but they would kill him. *Ninnigret* not being able to deny these charges, and somewhat appalled thereat, began to comply with the reasonable demands of the English. A dayes time was allowed to him, for Consideration and advice with the rest of the Indian Deputyes that were then in *Boston*.

The next day he declared that he was resolved to give the English Colonies due Satisfaction in all things, and that he would forthwith send some of his men to gather up the *wampam* which was yet behind hoping that within ten dayes it might be obtained, and that himself would

would stay with the English as security, untill the money was paid. Accordingly, he dispatched his Messengers home for that end, who not many dayes after, came back to *Boston*, bringing with them two hundred fathom of *wampam*, towards satisfaction of what they owed to the English. This falling very much short of what was expected, *Ninigret* pleaded that his personal absence from home was the cause of that defect, and therefore desired liberty to go home, withal adding, that if the whole were not paid by next spring, the English should take his head, and seize his Country. The Commissioners let him depart, and since he pretended so fair, did deliver to him the Children which were kept as *Hostages*, expecting from him, the more care to see engagements performed; and if they did find him real, that then former neglects should be charged upon *Pesicus*, and that they should expect his assistance, when it should be required, in recovering the whole remainder from *Pesicus*, all which things were cheerfully accepted by *Ninigret*.

This year other *Troubles* hapned by some of *Vncas* his Indians, who committed several Outrages upon the English in the *Pequot* Country. Mr. *John winthrope*, & some with him, complained that *woniquay* (*Vncas* his brother) with about forty *Mobags*, behaved themselves insolently, hovering against the English Plantation in a suspicious manner, to the afrightment of the Inhabitants there; Also, although *Vncas* at first seemed gladly to entertain the English plantation at *Pequot*, yet his carriage since was such as if he designed by *Alarm* to disturb and break that plantation. In fine, *Vncas* was censured, and required to acknowledge his fault to the English plantation, (which he did) and pay an hundred Fathom of *wampam* to make amends for wrongs sustained.

In September 1648. New complaints were brought before the Commissioners of the united Colonies, (then sitting at *Plymouth*) against the *Narraganset* Indians. *Henry Bull* of *Rhode-Island* petitioned for relief, informing that those Indians had beaten him, and other wayes been injurious to him. Also Messengers from the Town of *Warwick* came with complaints in behalf of the whole Town, alleading that their neighbour Indians did kill their Cattel abuse their servants when they took them alone, & sometimes would make forcible entry into their houses, yea, and strike the masters thereof, and steal, and purloyn their goods at pleasure. At the same time, informations were brought before the Commissioners, that the *Narraganset* Indians instead of paying the *wampam*, that was due to the Colonies, had improved their *wampam* to hire Indians to invade *Vncas*, and in case the English should defend him,

him, to fight with them also. Particularly, that *Ninniger* had given out, that if the English did protect *Uncas*, he would quickly burn the houses at *Connecticut*. The *Narragansets* were withdrawing their old men, women, and children into swamps, hiding their corn &c. The mercenary *Mohawks* were said to be about four hundred in number, all armed with guns, and three pound of powder for every man.

These Councils were so far ripened and prepared for execution, as that *Thomas Stanton* and other messengers from *Connecticut*, going to the Indians to enquire into, and (if it might be) stop proceedings, found them met at *Pacomtuck* their *Randevouze*, who acknowledged that they had received *Wampam* from the *Narragansets* to invade *Uncas*, and that they were met together to that purpose, expecting *Mohawks* and other Indians to make up their full numbers: But hearing that two *Mohawk* Sachims, were lately killed by the Eastern Indians, and that the English, who they thought were a just and warlike people, would defend *Uncas*, they did therefore stop their intended proceedings at this time.

But these things made it yet more evident, that the *Narragansets* were a false and treacherous people, not to be trusted, nor worthy to be treated with.

Ann. 1649. *Newhaven* Colony was in apparent danger of being involved in trouble by reason of the Indians there: For at *Stamford* a man going forth to seek his cattel, returned not home as was expected, nor could be found by the English that sought for him; but quickly after the Son of a *Sagamore* who lived near *Stamford*, came into the Town, and told the English that *John Whitmore* was murdered by an Indian called *Toquattor*, and to prove it, told them that *Toquattor* had some of his cloathes; and particularly his shirt made of Cotton. Hereupon the English and some Indians went into the woods to seek the murdered body for burial, but though they bestowed much time and labour, they could not find it. Diverse of the English at *Stamford* suspected the *Sagamores* son, to be either the Author or accessory to the Murder, but had not satisfying grounds to seize and charge him.

About two or three months after, *Uncas* coming to *Stamford*, calling the Indians thither, and enquiring after the murdered body, the fore-mentioned *Sagamores* Son, and another suspected Indian called *Kehoroc* fell a trembling, and hereby confirmed the suspicion of the English, and wrought a suspicion in some of the *Mohegin* Indians, so that they said these two Indians were *Matchet*, meaning they were guilty. Notwithstanding the Indians thereabouts excused the *Sagamores* Son, and accus-

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sed *Toquatros*, & intimated that if the Sagamores Son should upon suspicion be seized on by the English, the Indians would doe the like by some English, untill he should be set at liberty.

Likewise at *South-hampton in Long-Island*, the English were exposed to great difficulties and dangers by reason of a murder committed in that Town, so that they were necessitated to Arm themselves, and stand upon their own defence for many dayes, the Indians being gathered together in an hostile posture. This year also *Uncas* renewed his complaints against the *Narraganset* Indians, that notwithstanding all former engagements, they are still undermining his peace, and seeking his ruine; and in particular that to their late endeavour to bring the *Mohawks* upon him, when that failed, they sought by witchcraft to take away his life. An *Narraganset* Indian (called *Cuttaquin*) in an English Vessel in *Mohegin* River, ran a Sword into *Uncas* his breast, whereby he received to all appearance a mortal wound, which murderous act; the Assailant then confessed, he was for a considerable sum of *Wampam*, by the *Narraganset* and *Niantick* Sachims hired to attempt, *Ninnigret* when examined utterly denied his having an hand in that fact but affirmed that *Cuttaquin*, who accused himself, and the other Sachims, was drawn thereunto, by Torture from the *Mohags*,

About four years after this (viz. in Anno 1653.) there were great *Troubles*, and *Commotions* raised in the Spirits of men with reference to the Indians, it being generally believed that there was an horrid Conspiracy amongst the Indians throughout this Land to cut off all the English; and that they were animated thereto by the Dutch, there being at that time war between England and Holland. An Indian Squaw was sent by other Indians (that professed love and friendship) to one in *Wethersfield* on *Connecticut*, informing that there was a Confederacy between the Dutch and Indians, to destroy the English Colonies, and that the day of Election of Magistrates in the several Jurisdictions was intended for execution, because then the Towns would be left naked and less able to defend themselves. This Squaw moreover desired the English to remember, how dear their slighting of her former information of the *Peguots* coming had cost them.

Also, *Uncas* addressed himself to the Governour of *Connecticut* Colony declaring that *Ninnigret* had that winter been at *Manhato*, and that he had given the Dutch Governour a great present of *Wampam*, and received from him twenty Gunns, with powder and shot answer-

able; and that during his stay in those parts, he went over *Hudsons* River, gathered as many *Sachims* together as he could, made ample Declaration against the English, desiring their aid and assistance against them.

Yea moreover, there were no less then nine Indian *Sagamores*, who lived near *Manhato*, did voluntarily without any notice or reward from the English, send their Messengers to *Stamford*, declaring and affirming (even after they were urged by the English to testifie nothing but the truth) that the Dutch had solicited them by promising them Gunns, Swords, Powder, Wampam, Waist-coats and Coats to cut off the English. The Messengers added that they would not lye, & were as the mouth of the nine *Sagamores*, who *All speak they no lye*, they would affirm it to the Dutch Governours' ace, and if the Dutch were angry, and should fight with them. *No force &c.* The next day, one of those *Sagamores*, with the Son and Brother of another of them came themselves to *Stamford*, and confirmed what their Messengers in their names had before reported.

This Spring also, the Indians in the *Northern & Eastern* parts generally grew insolent, and their cariage very suspitious, and they gave out threatening words, so that many Alarms were made, the peace of the English through the whole Country disturbed, they wearied with extraordinary Watchings and Wardings, hindred in their Plowing, Sowing preparations for Planting and other Occasions, to their exceeding great Damage. These things caused many sad thoughts of hearts, and some warlike Preparations; but when the Parties accused were enquired of about these matters they would own nothing; as for *Ninigret* he pretended that his wintering amongst the Dutch was on the account of his health, and not at all out of design against the English. The rest of the *Narraganset Sachims* made themselves very ignorant of any Plot; the Dutch Governour likewise professed great abhorrency of so vile a thing as that would be, to hire barbarous Indians to murder Christians; withall adding, that if the Colonies fell upon him on that account, the righteous Judge would be his Defence, and that,

Hic murus abeniens esto

Nil conscire sibi nulla pallefcere culpa.

Also glad tidings of peace between the Nations at home arrived here so did these troubles vanish.

Albeit not many years after these things, the Indians in those parts made an horrible slaughter, not of English-men but of Dutch-men, who were treacherously massacred by them,

In the latter end of this year it was, that the *Montauket* or Long-Island Indians who were friends and Tributaries to the English, complained that *Ninnigret* and the *Nianticks* had assaulted them, killing and taking Captive diverse of them. They were so far hearkned unto, as that the Commissioners of the united Colonies did apprehend themselves called of God to wage Warr against *Ninnigret*, and such Indians as should adhere to him in his bloody proceedings, and accordingly did by vote conclude and determine the same, and that two hundred and fifty Souldiers should be forthwith raised, and sent forth by the severall Colonies. But the Council at *Boston* not concurring in those Conclusions, the intended expedition failed at that time. Nevertheless the next year, it being known that *Ninnigret* persisted in his Warring upon the Long Islanders, and that he brake his Covenant, refusing to pay tribute for those *Pequots* that were by the English formerly placed under him, and that the lenity of the Colonies was abused to heighten his pride and insolency; upon these Considerations it was agreed by the Commissioners that there should be two hundred and seventy Foot Souldiers, and forty Horse, raised out of the severall Colonies, in order to reducing *Ninnigret* to subjection and better obedience. Accordingly Forces were forthwith levied, and a small Army sent forth under the Christian and courageous Major *Willard* as Commander in chief.

Upon the approach of the English Army *Ninnigret* fled from the place of his usual Residence, and got into a Swamp, where it was not easie to pursue him. Most of the *Pequots* under his Jurisdiction then deserted him, and came to the English. Messengers were sent to demand a Treaty with him, but he was afraid to appear.

In fine, two Gentlemen, viz. Capt. *Davis* and Capt. *Siely* went to him requiring the delivery of the rest of the *Pequots*; to whom he replied that they were gone on hunting, but engaged that within seven dayes they should be delivered to Mr. *Winthrop*. He was moreover charged to forbear all acts of Hostility against the Long-Islanders, or any other Indians that were in amity with the English; and plainly told, that if he did not hearken to the advice and charge laid upon him, he must expect that ere long his head would be set upon an English pole.

So did the Messengers return and the Army also. These things happened in October Anno 1654.

After the English forces were withdrawn, *Ninnigret* did according to his usual manner, observe *Fidem punicam* in keeping the promises which at that time he had made and set his hand unto.

Not many years after this the Indians in the Southern and Western parts of this Land were involved in broyles amongst themselves, raging with implacable feuds and wars one against another. The *Nianticks*, *Mauntaukets*, *Mohegins*, *Norwootucks*, all engaged in cruel and bloody quarrels. And the peace of these Colonies was not a little disturbed and endangered thereby, inasmuch as the Indians would pursue one another to the English plantations and sometimes into the English houses, and there kill one another. Some English at *Watersfield*, and some inhabiting in the *Moheag* Country were by means hereof put into sad frights. In special, in Anno 1658, sundry English in divers places were disquieted by the insolence and outrage of the *Pacumpticus* Indians. But when the *Sachims* were called to an account about it, they pretended that they were ignorant of what disorders were committed by their men, nor allowed of by them who desired to live in amity with the English, and were willing to give satisfaction for past injuries, and to prevent the like abuses for the future. So did those Troubles pass over. Not very long before this, at *South-Hampton* in *Long Island* some houses had been burned by a wicked Indian (and a Negro woman) who it seems after he had done this wickedness, desperately killed himself, to prevent just execution. It was at first thought that more of the Indians there had had an hand in that burning, whence they were condemned to pay seven hundred pound in seven years, but afterwards that penalty was taken off, since it was judged unreasonable that those Indians who were not proved to act in, or consent to the mischief that was done, should be made to suffer as guilty.

In Anno 1662, *Plymouth* Colony was in some danger of being involved in Trouble by the *Wampanoag* Indians. After *Massasoit* was dead, his two sons, called *Wamsutta*, & *Metacomet*, came to the court at *Plymouth* pretending high respect for the English, and therefore desired English names might be imposed on them; whereupon the Court there named *Wamsutta* (the elder brother) *Alexander*, and *Metacomet* (the younger brother) *Philip*; this *Alexander* (*Philip*'s immediate predecessor) was not so faithful and friendly to the English as his Father had been. For some of *Boston*, having been occasionally at *Narraganset*, wrote to Mr. *Prince* who was then Governour of *Plymouth*, that *Alexander* was contriving mischief against the English, and that he had solicited the *Narragansets* to ingage with him in his designed rebellion. Hereupon, Capt. *Willet* (who lived near to *Mount-Hope*, the place where *Alexander* did reside) was appointed to speak with him, and to desire him to attend the next Court in *Plymouth*, for their satisfaction, and his own vindi-

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windication, he seemed to take the message in good part, professing that the *Narragansets*, who (he said) were his enemies, had put an abuse upon him, and he readily promised to attend at the next Court. But when the day for his appearance was come, instead of that, he at that very time went over to the *Narragansets*, his pretended enemies, which compared with other Circumstances, caused the Gentlemen at *Plymouth* to suspect there was more of Truth in the Information given, than at first they were aware of. Wherefore the Governour and Magistrates there, ordered Major *Winslow* (who is since and at this day the Governour of that Colony) to take a party of men, and fetch down *Alexander*. The Major considering that *semper nocuit differre paratis*, he took but ten armed men with him from *Marshfield*, intending to have taken more at the Towns that lay nearer *Mount-Hope*. But divine providence so ordered, as that when they were about the midway between *Plymouth* and *Bridgewater*, observing an hunting house, they rode up to it, and there did they find *Alexander* and many of his men well armed, but their Guns standing together without the house, the Major with his small party, possessed themselves of the Indians Arms, and beset the house; then did he go in amongst them, acquainting the *Sachim* with the reason of his coming in such a way, desiring *Alexander* with his Interpreter to walk out with him, who did so a little distance from the house, and then understood what Commission the Major had received concerning him. The proud *Sachim* fell into a raging passion at this surprise, saying that the Governour had no reason to credit Rumors, or to send for him in such a way, nor would he go to *Plymouth* but when he saw cause. It was replied to him, that his breach of word touching appearance at *Plymouth* Court, and instead thereof going at the same time to his pretended enemies, augmented jealousies concerning him. In fine, the Major told him, that his order was to bring him to *Plymouth*, and that (by the help of God) he would do it, or else he would dy on the place; Also declaring to him that if he would submit, he might expect respective usage, but if he once more denyed to go, he should never stir from the ground whereon he stood, and with a Pistol at the *Sachims* breast, required that his next words should be a positive and clear Answer to what was demanded. Hereupon his Interpreter (a discreet Indian, brother to *John Sauaman*) being sensible of *Alexanders* passionate disposition, entreated that he might speak a few words to the *Sachim*, before he gave his Answer. The prudent discourse of this Indian prevailed so far as that *Alexander* yielded to go, only requesting that he might go like a *Sachim*, with his men attending him, which (although there

there was some hazard in it, they being many, and the English but a few) was granted to him. The weather being hot, the Major offered him an horse to ride on, but his squaw and diverse Indian women being in company, he refused, saying he could go on foot as well as they, entreating only that there might be a complying with their pace, which was done, and resting several times by the way. *Alexander* and his Indians were refreshed by the English; no other discourse hapning while they were upon their march, but what was pleasant and amicable. The Major sent a man before, to entreat that as many of the Magistrates of that Colony as could, would meet at *Duxbury*; wherefore having there had some treaty with *Alexander*, not willing to commit him to prison, they entreated Major *Winslow* to receive him to his house, until the Governour (who then lived at *Eastham*) could come up. Accordingly he and his Train were courteously entertained by the Major. And albeit not so much as an angry word passed between them whilst at *Marblefield*, yet proud *Alexander* vexing and fretting in his spirit, that such a check was given him, he suddenly fell sick of a fever. He was then nursed as a choice friend. Mr. *Fuller* (the Physitian) coming providentially thither at that time, the Sachim and his men earnestly desired that he would administer to him, which he was unwilling to doe, but by their importunity was prevailed with to doe the best he could to help him. and therefore gave him a potion of working Physick, which the Indians thought did him good; but his distemper afterward prevailing, they entreated to dismiss him, in order to a return home, which upon engagement of appearance at the next Court was granted to him, soon after his being returned home, he dyed.

And this is the truth and substance of what concerns Transactions with *Alexander*, concerning which so many fabulous storyes have been spread abroad.

Alexander being dead, his Brother *Philip* (of late cursed memory) rose up in his stead, and he was no sooner styled *Sachim*, but immediately in the year 1662. there were vehement suspitions of his bloody treachery against the English: Yet he professed otherwise. and making his personal appearance at a Court holden at *Plymouth*, renewed that Covenant which his father and Brother had confirmed with the English there. This Covenant he periodically brake: For in Anno 1671. it was evident that he with other his Confederates had been conspiring against the Colony, under whose protection and Jurisdiction he had submitted himself. He then armed himself and acted like a Rebel that intended a speedy rising, yea he ordered (as some Indians have

have since confessed) that if the English did send messengers to Treat with him, if above four came in company together they should be shot down, and appointed some to ly in ambush for that end; and behaved himself after a surly and provoking manner towards messengers that desired Treaty with him, and refused to appear, and give answer for his Insolencies, his Covenant notwithstanding. Nevertheless, he at last conceded to meet the Governour and Magistrates of *Plymouth*, at *Taunton*, where sundry Commissioners of *Boston* were desired to be, and to hear the matters of difference between the English of *Plymouth*, and this *Philip* Sachim.-- This meeting was attended in *April*, 1671. when *Philip* confessed his breach of Covenant, and that he had groundlessly taken up Arms against them, whom he had alwayes found friendly to him; And surrendered some of his Arms, engaging for the delivery of the rest in due time. The English being tender of shedding blood, let him go upon promise of better behaviour for the future. Soon after this, *Philip* (with some of his Counsellors) repaired to *Boston*, endeavouring to possess the English there, with lying Informations, about Injuries done to him by those of *Plymouth*. Wherefore the Council of that Colony entreated, that Commissioners from *Boston*, and from *Connecticut* also might be sent to *Plymouth*, that so a fair hearing of differences before all the world might be attended. So then in *September* following the Governour of *Connecticut*, and several Magistrates from the *Massachusetts*, and some other Gentlemen met at *Plymouth*, where *Philip* appeared, and all his allegations were heard to the Conviction of *Philip* himself, and great satisfaction of all that Audience. The conclusion was, *Philip* acknowledged his offence, and was appointed to give a sum of mony to defray the charges which his Insolent Clamours had put that Colony unto: The particulars which *Philip* then consented to were these.

1. That he would for the future be subject to the Government of *Plymouth*, and to their Laws.
2. He engaged to pay the Colony an hundred pound towards reparation of such wrong as they had sustained by his misdemeanors.
3. He was under obligation to send five wolves heads every year to the Governour of *Plymouth* in Token of his fealty.
4. That he would not make war with any without the approbation of that Government.
5. In case any future difference should arise between him and the English, he would repair to the Government there to rectify matters, before engaging in any hostile attempts.
6. That

6. That he would not dispose of any of his Lands but with the approbation of the English government there- So was he dismissed. Some of these Covenants were in part observed by him, and some particulars not at all- Thus did things rest between the English and him, until the year 1674. when in *January* an Indian Preacher, known by the name of *John Sausaman*, addressed himself to the present Governour of *Plymouth*, informing him that the Indians were complotting the destruction of the English, and that not only the *Wompanoags*, but the *Narragansets*, yea and the *Mobegins* were involving themselves in this Conspiracy. This *Sausaman* was by birth a *Massachusetts*, his Father and Mother living in *Dorchester*, and they both died Christians. This their Son did for some time apostatize from his Christian profession, and lived like an Heathen, being Philips Secretary (for he could write a very legible hand) and one of his Counsellors, untill at last God convinced him of his misery, and he manifested such evident signs of repentance as that he was, after his return from pagan *Philip*, reconciled to the praying Indians and baptised, and received as a member in one of the Indian Churches, yea and imployed as an Instructor amongst them every Lords Day. Nevertheless, his information (because it had an Indian original, and one can hardly believe them when they speak truth) was not at first much regarded, untill by relation of Circumstances, he made it too apparent, that *Philip* was really hatching mischief. The effect was, the Governour of *Plymouth* advising with his Councill, resolved once more to send for *Philip*, and to enquire into the truth of things: But before that could be accomplished, an Indian called *Tobias*, with his Son, and another Indian named *Mattashinnamy*, meeting with *John Sausaman* at a pond, cruelly murdered him; and that their villany might not be discovered, they cut an hole through the Ice, and put in the dead murdered Body, leaving his hat and Gun upon the Ice, that so others might think that he had drowned himself. It being rumor'd that *Sausaman* was lost, the dead body was sought after, and found in the pond, and taken up and buried.

Jealousies being on the spirits of men that the other Indians had murdered him, on the account of revealing their Conspiracies to the English: The Governour of *Plymouth* ordered the Constable of *Middlebury* (that being the nearest town to the Place where the murder was committed) to cause *John Sausamans* body to be taken up again, and to empanel a Jury as a *Coroners Inquest*, to make enquiry how he came by his death: And they found that he had been murdered, for his neck was broken by twisting of his head round; which is the

way that the Indians sometimes use when they practice murders; also, his head was extremely swollen, and his Body was wounded in several parts of it, and when it was first taken out of the pond, no water issued out of it, which argued that the Body was not drowned, but dead before it came into the water.

Moreover, when *Tobias* (the suspected Murderer) came near the dead body, it fell a bleeding on fresh as if it had been newly slain. Albeit it was buried a considerable time before that.

Afterward an Indian called *Patuckson*, came and testified to their faces that he saw *Tobias* and the other Indians murdering *Sausaman*: He also himself before his death had declared, that he was afraid those very Indians would at last prove his Murderers.

They were therefore apprehended & kept in *Durance* untill *Plymouth Court*, which was held in June, 1675. and being found guilty of *Sausaman's* Death, they were (one of them before his execution confessing the murder) condemned and executed. And then did *Philip*, being (as was verily supposed) privy to what *Tobias* (his Counsellor) and those with him had perpetrated upon *John Sausaman*, fall to open Rebellion and bloodshedding amongst the English at *Swanzy*, who were his next Neighbours.

But of the special Occurrences attending the late (and not yet ended) War between the English and the Indians, I have elsewhere given a brief account, and therefore shall not here add any thing, that not comporting with my present design.

The Particulars which have been mentioned, are the chief (if not the only) Troubles which have hapned by the Indians in *New-England*, from the first planting thereof by the English till the late Commotions. Some few private Murders there have been, which are not insisted on in this Narrative, as namely those at *Nantucket*, and that by *Matoonas* his Son, and that at *Woburn*, but the publick peace was not so endangered by those clandestine Revenges, as by the Conspiracies, the Relation whereof hath been described.

It is easy to observe, from the History of these Troubles, that whereas there have been two sorts of men designing settlement in this part of *America*, some that came hither on the account of Trade, and worldly Interests, by whom the Indians have been scandalized, others that came hither on a Religious and conscientious account, having in their Eye, the Conversion of the Heathen unto Christ; the former have been

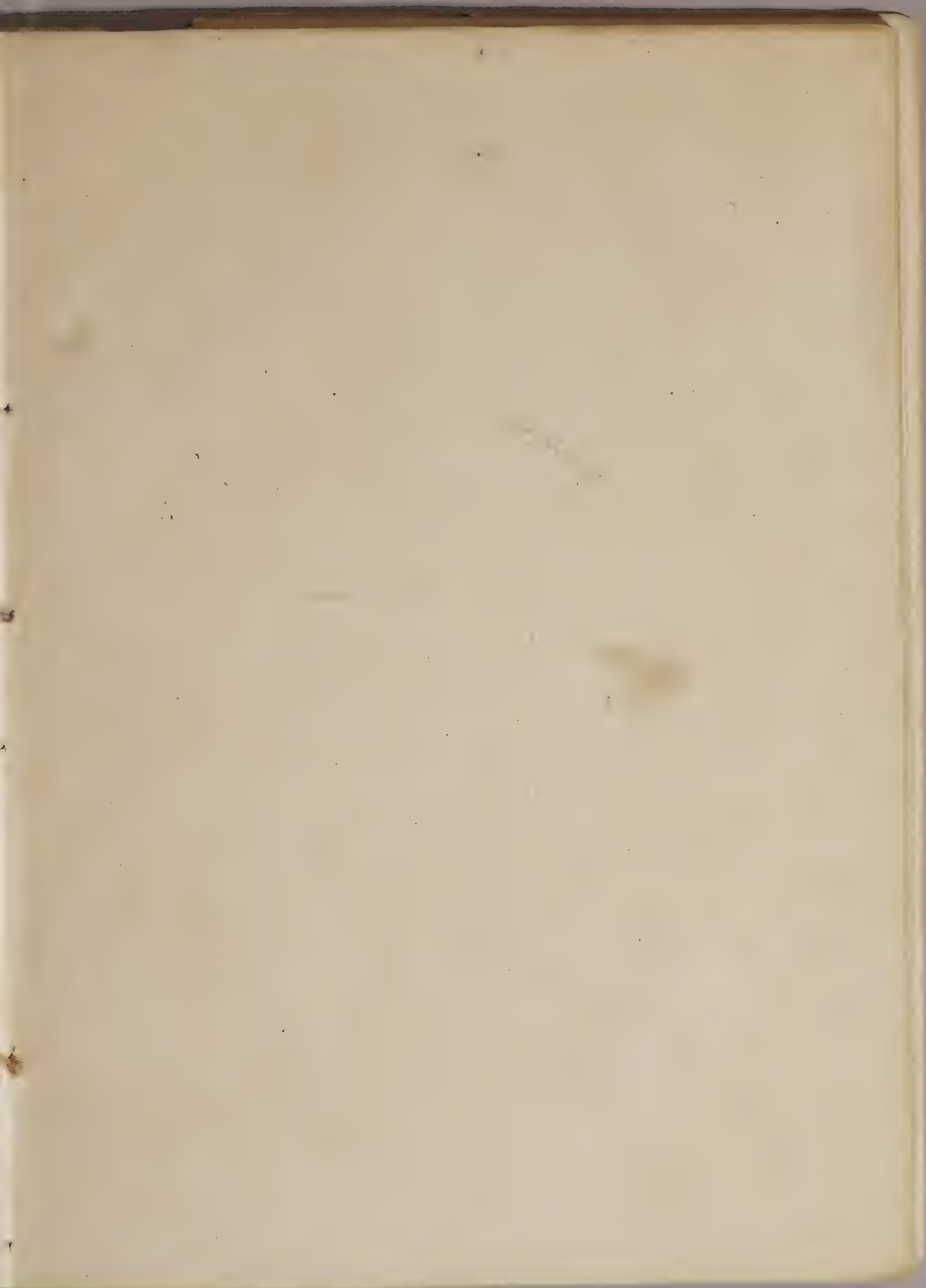
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been attended with blasting ruining providences, these latter have been
signally owned by the Lord Jesus, for the like hath been rarely known
in the world, that a plantation should be raised out of nothing, and
brought to such considerableness in so short a time, whereas in the
close of the last Century, there was not so much as one Christian in this
Land, there are now above *Four score* English, and *Six* Indian Churches
therein, besides many other Congregations calling upon the Name of the
True God in Jesus Christ, although as yet not brought into Church
estate, according to the order of the Gospel.

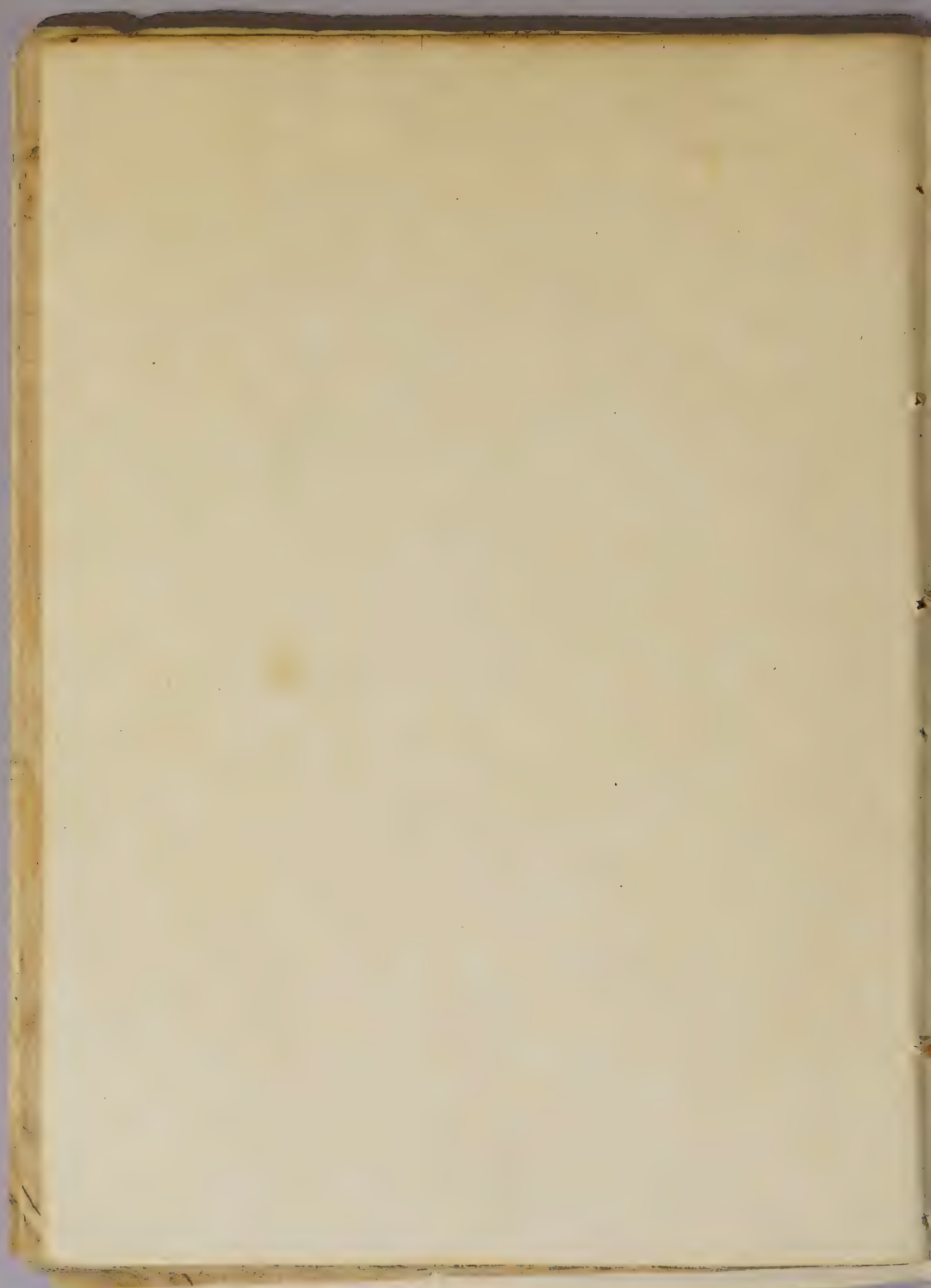
This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

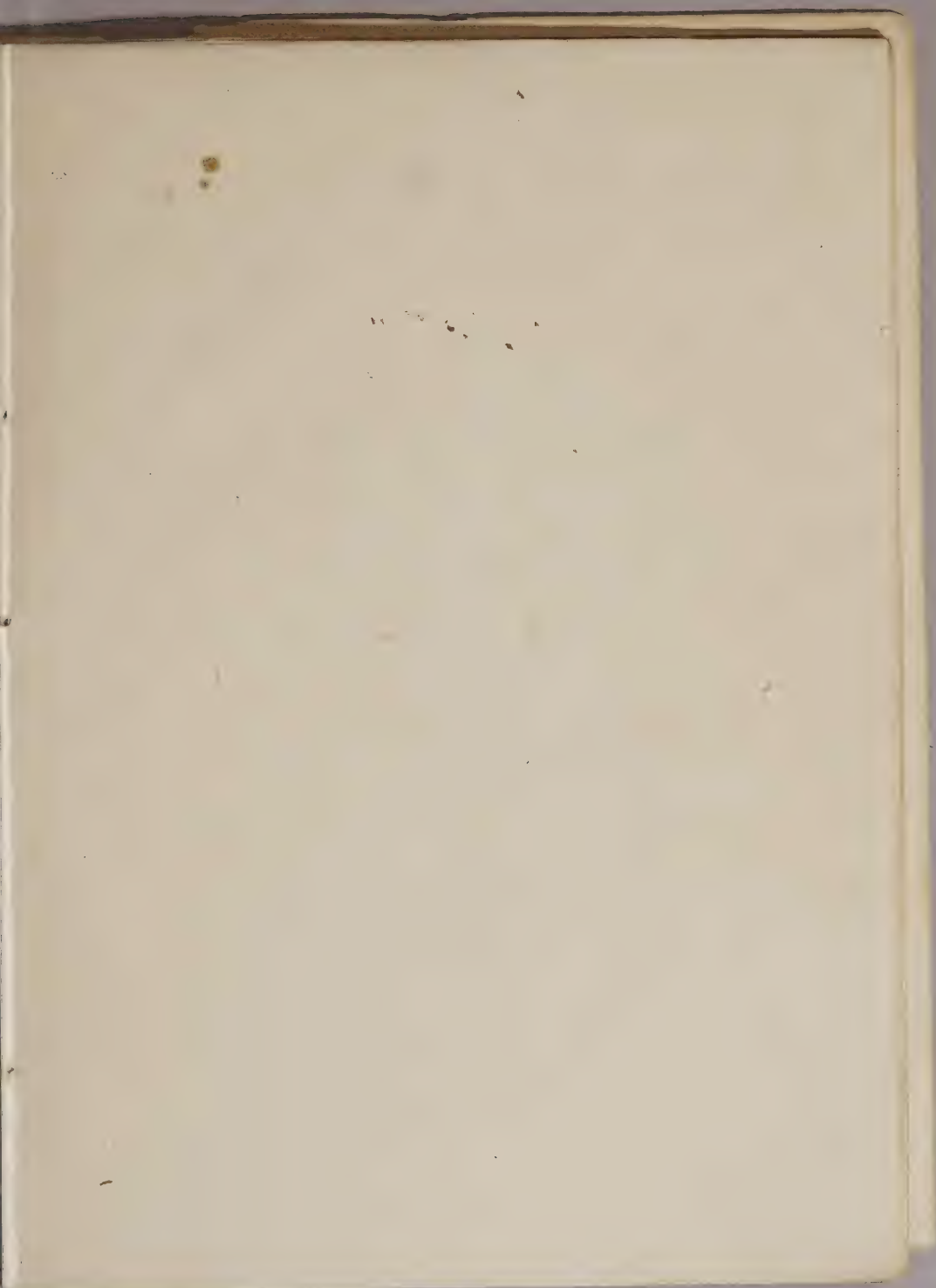
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F I N I S.







The second part of Increase Mathers
 Relation of the Troubles which were
 amongst the New England by reason of
 the Indians &c. &c.

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